# THE Two VVitneſſes:

Diſcovered in ſeverall

# SERMONS

Upon the eleventh Chapter of the *Revelation*, wherein, after the Propheſie opened, the great Queſtion of theſe times.

*VIZ.*

*Whether the two Witneſſes are ſlain, yea or no,* is modeſtly diſcuſſed.

---

Preached at *Lawrence-Jewry* in *London*, by *F. W.* Lecturer of the ſaid place.

---

*It is this ſeven and twentieth day of* April, 1643. *Ordered by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament, concerning Printing, That theſe Sermons intituled,* The two Witneſſes, *be Printed for* Luke Fawne.

JOHN WHITE.

April 28

---

*London*, Printed by *J. R.* for *Luke Fawne* and are to be ſold at the ſign of the *Parriot* in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1643.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# To the Reader.

IT hath perhaps already been wondred at, *that ſuch a one as I, whoſe meanneſſes are not unknown, have been ſo hardy, as to adventure to preach upon a Theme ſo knotty and perplex, as is* the Propheſie of the two Witneſſes, *and now to make thoſe Notions more publike, may poſsibly revive the wonderment, and this ſecond undertaking render me more hardy (that I ſay no more) then did the former. In neither perhaps am I wholly to be excuſed; yet when you know all, at leaſt I may be pardoned.*

*The great deſire I had to gain ſome light to theſe dark times, drew me to beſtow ſeverall exerciſes upon this Subject; the deſire of ſome friends drew me thus to publiſh them. If for the firſt I be challenged, it muſt indeed wholly fall upon my ſelf; If for the latter, there are thoſe that muſt ſhare the blame with me.*

*For the Subject, I cannot conceive how that ſhould come unacceptable to any; we all ſtrongly deſire to know what ſhall become of us: And could we but meet with any* divine Prognoſtication, calculated for theſe times, and alſo for this our Meridian, *nothing more welcome: Such do ſome conceive is this* Propheſie of the Witneſſes; *which whether ſo or no, once I am aſſured; the cleering of this ſame, would accordingly, or help our preparations for ſuch a ſtorm as this ſhall bring with it; or elſe relieve us*

*from much diſcouragement and fear, while we dayly look for it.*

*It is indeed a matter intricate,* dignus vindice nodus, *ſuch as not unworthily is become the great Enquiry of theſe times, and doubtleſſe worthy a much other hand then mine, who firſt profeſſedly undertook it: which duely weighing, I have endeavoured, with all becoming modeſty, to deal in it.*

*It was not (if I know my heart) the great confidence I had upon my ſelf, that made me adventure upon this ſo difficult undertaking; nor yet the preſumption I had, I could do much in it. Onely I have thought I might either contribute ſomewhat my ſelf in this buſineſſe, at leaſt ſhould provoke others that might contribute: In which latter, ſure I am, I have not been miſtaken; for though before I began, there was deep ſilence in this matter, yet ſince have ſeverall fallen upon it profeſſedly alſo.*

*If you meet with miſtakes in this Diſcourſe, to ſome the difficulty of the buſineſſe will eaſily entitle me; to others, the want of time to make ſerious reviſings: In which latter, I muſt needs tell you I was much ſtraitned. I had but thoſe Notes I uſed in Preaching, whereby immediately, and not from any other Copy, I was fain at once to form and tranſcribe theſe; the Preſſe drew them from me piece after piece; and many times preventing the quickneſſe of my writing, ſtayed for me; I having never had the opportunity till all had paſſed the Preſſe, to view altogether. In all which the equall Reader will conſider me;*

Whoſe I am engaged in my meaſure
to ſerve him,

FRA: WOODCOCKE.

# THE Two VVitneſſes.

REVEL. 11. VERS. 3. and ſo forward to the 15.

*And I will give power unto my two Witneſſes, and they ſhall propheſie one thouſand two hundred, and threeſcore dayes Cloathed in Sackcloth, &c.*

THE main reaſon, why I undertook the task of this Propheſie, Is to try to ſatisfie that common queſtion almoſt in every ones Mouth, *What will become of us? What do you think of theſe times?* To anſwer this from providences, ſeemed to me altogether impoſſible, they are diſpenſed toward us with ſo much variety: We fear to day, hope to morrow; ſo that from our preſent condition, there is no preſaging what will be our future. But then I thought could we finde out *ſome more ſure word of propheſie*; ſuch as might in a more ſpeciall manner relate to our times, this might contribute much to our ſatisfaction, in the inſufficiency of the other. And while I was thus caſting, this *propheſie of the two Witneſſes*, offers it ſelf, of all thoſe that I can imagine moſt likely to aym at our times, and ſo beſt to ſerve the purpoſe above mentioned. This apprehenſion made me cloſe with it, of which having given this ſhort account; I now proceed to give an account of the Propheſie it ſelf. 2 Pet. 1. 19.

And for coherence, that we may know where about we are, take this much; Some great Interpreters conceive the holy Ghoſt having finiſhed the *propheſie of the Seals*, only ſomewhat remaining of the *laſt Trumpet*, becauſe there was an other propheſie. *viz.* That which ſet forth the condition of the Church, (beginning and ending with that of the Seals) not as yet mentioned; till ſuch time as ſo much of the Churches ſtate, as I may call it, was meaſured forth as of the former, he ſets back the mention of the ſeventh Trumpet from its due place in the tenth Chapter, till this be done; which being done in the former part of this Chapter, to the 15 verſe; there the ſeventh Trumpet is brought in to be the common cloſe and Cataſtrophe of them both.

Verſ. 1. By this reckoning, the beginning of this eleventh Chapter, wherein you *have a Temple, Altar, and worſhippers meaſured*, preſents to us the Churches condition in the Apoſtles dayes, and thoſe primative times neer about, and that which immediately follows, the Churches ſtate now gotten within the verge Verſ. 2. of thoſe times wherein Antichriſt was to prevail. This latter I readily embrace; but that by the former ſhould be meant the condition of the Church in the Apoſtles times, to me ſeems altogether doubtfull.

I ſhould rather with ſubmiſſion conceive, *By the Temple, Altar, and Worſhippers*, are meant reſpectively, the *pure worſhips and worſhippers*, continuing all the time of Antichriſt, the meaſuring of theſe denoting this much, That during this time of Antichriſts preſcribing, God would own ſo much worſhip in ſo many worſhippers, and no more. But for the *outer-Court*, that is, *falſe Worſhip*, and the *Gentiles* therein, which are *falſe worſhippers*, who are *caſt forth unmeaſured*, neither of theſe would God own, either for *Worſhip, or for Worſhippers*.

If this, the meaning of the former words, joyn this of the witneſſes to them, and the dependance lies cleerly thus: Then when the Antichriſtian Gentiles begin to take poſſeſſion of the 2 Theſ. 2. 4. out ward Court, when Antichriſt begins to *ſit in the Temples of God*; about this time came forth theſe two witneſſes to propheſie in Sackcloth.

Having found out thus much for connection, we proceed now to take a view of the Propheſie it ſelf, the bulk whereof ſeems

ſeems thus much: *About the time when Popery begins to ſpread, there ſhall be raiſed up by a divine hand, a generation of men, teſtifying againſt it, who continuing their witneſſe in all its time, ſhall be ſlain at laſt by the Popiſh faction, but not long after riſe again, their riſing procuring the Popiſh factions downfall.*

This in the generall: more particularly in this third Verſe, where we begin, you have,

1. A title given to thoſe who teſtifie againſt Antichriſt; they are *Witneſſes.* 1.

2. Their number; they are *two.* 2.

3. Their office; they *Propheſie.* 3.

4. The manner according to which they execute their office; tis in *Sackcloth.* 4.

5. The time how long they continue thus to Propheſie, and this is *a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes*: of theſe in this order: 5.

1. The title, they are *Witneſſes*, and ſo called, becauſe *they bear witneſſe to truth, and holineſſe, againſt all the errours, and unholyneſſe of Antichriſt*; ſo is Chriſt ſeverall times called the *faithfull witneſſe*, and this by way of emminence, and becauſe *bearing witneſſe to all truth againſt all errours, and impieties whatſoever.* You ſee why they are called witneſſes. 1. Revel. 15. and 3. 14.

2. Their number follows, they are *two.* And *two* they are (ſay ſome,) becauſe *few*; Two making the leaſt number; or *two* in regard of the *two Teſtaments*, which theſe avow the truth of; they bear witneſſe to what is contained in both the Teſtaments: or elſe *two*, in regard of the types they are preſented by, which are ſet down by *pairs, two and two*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, our *two witneſſes*; *eſpecially*, becauſe in the Law, no accuſation would paſſe, unleſſe aſſerted *by two or three witneſſe*; ſo that accordingly, if an accuſation come againſt Antichriſt, there muſt not be leſſe then two witneſſes to avow it. Thus you have their number alſo, they are *two witneſſes.* 2. Deu. 17. 6. Matth. 18. 16.

3. Their *employment* next follows, with the *manner* of performance (for I ſhall put both together), *they propheſie in Sackcloth.* They propheſie, that is, they inſtruct the people in the good way, teſtifying by all means, Whether by preaching, writing, or otherwayes againſt Antichriſtian impieties; propheſying being not here ſtrictly taken *for a foretelling things to come*; or elſe, *for* 3. Acts 2. 17. Rom. 12. 6.

1. *Did God raiſe up Witneſſes, all the times of Antichriſt?* then in the darkeſt times of Popery God hath not left himſelf without a People; they have been few, I confeſſe, reduced to the leaſt number ſometimes, yet never hath that darkneſſe ſo wholly blinded all, nor their cruell perſecutions ſo ſwept away all, but there have been ſome Witneſſes in all the times of Antichriſt teſtifying againſt him.

If therefore they ask us *Where was our Religion before* Luther; a common queſtion, and with which they think they have ſped us: Why ſure whereſoever theſe Witneſſes were, it was both them; and if theſe were as old as Antichriſt, as appears by the Text they are; if they will ſay their Antichriſt is elder then *Luther*, they muſt ſay our Religion was before *Luther* alſo.

2. Foraſmuch as God raiſed up ſome in all times to teſtifie againſt Popery, 'tis plain God did not *leave himſelf without Witneſſes* among the Popiſh Idolaters, ſent thoſe among them who *would have healed* Babylon, *though ſhe refuſed to be healed*; and if ſo, how juſtly are they *given over to ſtrong deluſions to beleeve a lie*, who when they had the truth, *would not receive it in the love of it*? yea, how juſt ſhall be the downfall of that *Babylon*, how for ever inexcuſable when judged, to whom when the Lord hath ſent a continued ſucceſſion of Witneſſes, *riſing up early and ſending them*, yet would not hearken, hath ſtill *refuſed to be healed*.

Acts 14. 17. 2 Theſ. 2. 11. Jer. 51. 9.

3. From hence that they are called *Witneſſes*, we learn to what a height and heynouſneſſe the errours and impieties of Popery were arriv'd: had they been weakneſſes, infirmities, they had been born withall; *love had covered them*, had they been only infirmities; and ſure without a bearing with weakneſſes in Church ſocieties, it is not poſſible to hold fellowſhip together: but when theſe muſt be openly witneſſed againſt, to joyn was damnable, and to diſſemble was no better, when 'twas not ſufficient *to beleeve with the heart*, but there muſt be *profeſſion made alſo*; ſure theſe abominations muſt be of a high ſtrain, theſe could be reckoned for weakneſſes no longer.

Rom. 10. 10.

5 Foraſmuch as the *Witneſſes* are but two, the ſmalleſt number, you hence ſee what the *Synagogue of Rome* gains by boaſting the Catholique Church, glorying in her multitude; could they have given us a better Argument to prove them Antichriſt,

the Beaſt, the Whore, the Gentiles by, when theſe fill the world, the *Holy City the outward Court*, and but two Witneſſes to oppoſe all this multitude?

Go on therefore, glory in your multitudes, boaſt your univerſality, we yeeld to you the *whole world wonders after the beaſt*, while but two Witneſſes oppoſe him. Reve. 13. 3.

5. Do the witneſſes *Propheſie in Sackcloth*, kept down, and at an under through the potency of the Antichriſtian faction? then judge who have been moſt like to be theſe witneſſes; whether theſe, who taking unwearied pains, preaching in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, could ſcarce get wherewith to maintain a poor family; yea, many times through perſecution, thrown out of all; or elſe thoſe who ſeldom preaching, and when they did, *not in Sackcloth, you may be ſure*, ſuch who lived as lords indeed, and kept their Courts like Princes; judge whether of theſe are likeſt to be the witneſſes in Sackcloth; yea learn not to wonder, if you have known ſome godly and painfull Miniſters could ſcarce by all their pains and induſtry, get them bread; when yet the Romiſh Prelaticall Clergy, have been lords of all, wonder not at it alas, 'twas their time to *Propheſie in Sackcloth.*

---

VERS. 4.

*Theſe are the two Olive trees, and the two Candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth.*

HAving ſpoken already concerning the *title*, *number*, and *office* of theſe Witneſſes, together with the *manner and continuance* of them in their *office*; next we ſhould enquire who theſe Witneſſes are, to which in this 4 verſe, and thoſe that next follow we have anſwer, theſe verſes together offering a full draught, and deſcription of them.

But before I come to open the words, I ſhould firſt acquaint you what the thoughts of ſome are in this queſtion, beginning with the Popiſh firſt; which I ſhall only mention, and leave it.

They therefore following ſome of the *Ancients*, and they the Hebrew Doctors, tell us, theſe *two Witneſſes* are *Enoch* and *Elias*, who ſhall come ſomewhat before the end of the world, *Origen. Lactan. Hilar.*

world, preaching Repentance to the Jews, at that time miſta-
Bel. de Pa. Rom. l. 3. king Antichriſt (ſome ſtrange *Chymera* born of the Tribe of *Dan*) for the Meſſiah; which Antichriſt ſhall after ſome ſpace ſlay theſe two Witneſſes, *Enoch* and *Elias*; but in the end, the Jews being converted, ſhall make an end of him. This the Popiſh conceipt.

Among our ſelves, I do not finde us perfectly agreed who
Brightmans Napier. Beda. theſe Witneſſes are: *Some* for whom we owe much to God, and to whoſe diſcoveries we are greatly indebted (after ſome of the *Ancients*) conceive the *two Teſtaments* are the two Witneſſes. The two Teſtaments (ſay they) together with the godly people, are theſe *two Witneſſes.*

I ſhould not dare to deny the Scriptures are the *Teſtimony* of theſe Witneſſes, but that the Scriptures ſhould be *the Witneſſes themſelves*, when yet the Witneſſes are deſcribed as perſons, as men, are deſcribed by men, men that have lived in former ages brought in to perſonate theſe Witneſſes, are deſcribed by actions that have been done by men before, and which men only are capable to do again; that notwithſtanding all this we ſhould pronounce the Scriptures are theſe Witneſſes; for my part, I ſpeak it with ſubmiſſion, I cannot underſtand. The Scriptures are the *Teſtimony* of theſe Witneſſes indeed, but ſeem not with congruity to be the *Witneſſes themſelves.*

But I ſhall detain you no longer from the Text, in mentioning any more opinions, ſuffice it we have hitherto ſeen who are not theſe Witneſſes; but now examine the Text, and from thence we may be told who they are: In which the holy Ghoſt comes ſo quick, after their number, office, manner of performing, touched upon in the verſe before, that almoſt before a man could well ask but *Who are theſe Witneſſes*, he is anſwered in theſe words; *Theſe are the two Olive Trees, and the two Candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth.*

Which firſt draught and deſcription of theſe Witneſſes, we finde almoſt word for word fetcht from the 4 Chapter of *Zach.* whitherto having recourſe, if we can learn what, and who are meant by the *two Olive trees* there, it will much ready us to know whom we are to underſtand by the *two Witneſſes* here, they being by that ſame repreſentation ſet forth to us.

In that Chapter therefore (for I muſt ſend you thither) th-

Prophe-

Prophet in a Viſion ſeeing a Golden Candleſtick, with ſeven Lamps, and ſeven Pipes; and on each ſide of the Candleſtick two Olive trees emptying golden Oyl into the Pipes; which not knowing what to make of, and enquiring of the Angel that talked with him, receives this in anſwer: Zach. 4. 2, 3, 4.

The *Candleſtick* thou ſaweſt, with all its Lamps burning (being one of the chief Utenſiles about the Temple, and not to be brought thereinto, till the building thereof is finiſhed) *betokens the building and perfecting of the Temple.* The Candleſtick betokens the Church; and the Candleſtick furniſhed compleat with Lamps, the reſtoring the Church and Worſhips from thoſe maims and ruines which during the time of the Captivity they had layn under. Verſ. 6, 7, 9, 10.

The Prophet ſatisfied in the myſtery of the Candleſtick, yet further enquires; and *What are the two Olive trees ſtanding on either ſide the Candleſtick?* After this queſtion twice asked, the Angel gives anſwer in the laſt Verſe, almoſt the words of my Text; *Theſe are the two anoynted Ones*; or as the Originall, *Theſe are the two Sons of Oyl, ſtanding before the Lord of the whole earth.* Verſ. 11, 12. Verſ. 14. בני יצהר

But now if any after all this remaining unſatisfied, ſhall yet further enquire who theſe anoynted Ones are: I anſwer, with conſent of beſt Interpreters, They are *Zerubbabel*, and *Joſhua*, and with them the Elders and Prieſts reſpectively; who becauſe they ſpent themſelves and their endeavours in building the Temple, and were Inſtruments of light and encouragement, in the conduct of the great Church-Affairs, typed out by the Candleſtick, with much elegancy of reſemblance, are preſented as two Olive trees dropping golden Oyl into a golden Candleſtick. *Rabbi David Kimchi. Rabbi Solomon Iarchi.*

So then the two Olive trees emptying golden Oyl into the Candleſtick, in *Zachary*, are two eminent ranks of men; *Zerubbabel* and the Elders one; for the Elders joyned themſelves in the work with him, and *Joſhua*, and the other Prieſts, the other; which Prieſts alſo were aſſiſting to *Joſhua*. In ſhort, they are godly Magiſtrates and Prieſts who did beſtow themſelves in building, reſtoring, finiſhing the Temple, Church, Worſhips, all having gone to wrack the while of the Babyloniſh Captivity. Ezra 6. 14. Zach. 3. 8.

Bring all this but home now, and by this account, the *two Witneſſes* deſcribed, and typed out by *two Olive trees*, muſt be *Zerubbabel* and *Joſhua*; for their quality, they muſt be godly *Magiſtrates and Miniſters*: and then becauſe *Olive trees dropping Oyl into Candleſticks*, (which we ſaw before betokened reſtoring, building, caring for the Temple, Church-Worſhips) theſe muſt beſtow themſelves in caring for Church, Ordinances, and Worſhips alſo, which is their employment.

And truely what can we oppoſe? For if the two Olive trees dropping Oyl into the Candleſticks, were in their firſt uſe and intention peculiarly apted to denote Magiſtrates and Miniſters, men of like quality as were *Zerubb:* and *Jeſhua*; and then their employment in caring for Church, Worſhips, and the like: The holy Ghoſt transferring the ſame type from thence hither, whereby to deſcribe theſe *two Witneſſes*; who ſees not they muſt needs be perſons of like *quality*, godly Magiſtrates and Miniſters, and of like *employment*; they muſt beſtow themſelves in caring for Church, and Worſhips alſo.

I do not deny there be ſome differences between the two types, both in the *mention*, as likewiſe in the *meaning*, yet not ſuch as to overthrow the foundation of the reſemblance. For Inſtance,

1. There in *Zachary* you have *no Temple built*, and therefore they to begin the world anew, to begin to build almoſt from the Foundation: but here in the beginning of this 11 Chapter, you finde a *Temple compleat and entire*; ſo that the work of theſe is not ſo much to build a Temple anew, as to preſerve and keep that in meaſure, and from Antichriſtian encroachments which they had, and to re-gain ſo much of the *outward Court* as they could, which now Antichriſt, with the Antichriſtian *Gentiles*, had wholly in poſſeſſion. This the firſt difference, they ſeem to begin their Church-work from the beginning, theſe not ſo much to begin, as to preſerve and recover what was loſt by the uſurpations of Antichriſt: here they have a Temple, onely the outward Court taken from them; there they have as yet no Temple at all.

Chap. 11. 1

2 There you have but *one Candleſtick*, here *two*; which whether becauſe the Church about this time was to be divided into *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, as ſome conceive; or elſe *two*, becauſe the Churches were about this time of the Witneſſes to be reduced

duced to the leaſt number, even to two, as others; or whether *two Candleſticks* here, and but one there, becauſe the Jewiſh Church was but one, the Chriſtian Churches are many, as others; or whether any other may be the reaſon, I not determine. You have the differences: but that in the main they agree, take notice of theſe ſeveralls for the purpoſe:

1. As there you have a *Candleſtick*, ſignifying a *Church*; ſo here Candleſticks, ſignifying *Churches* alſo; ſo I would underſtand them: In no wiſe conceiving the two Witneſſes to be the *two Candleſticks*, as they are ſaid to be the *two Olive trees* before; and therefore I had rather reade as they do; *Theſe are the two Olive trees, With*, or *by the two Candleſticks*, as is the manner of the *Hebrews* ſometime to render their copulative: for 'tis evident from the firſt Chapter of this *Revel.* and 20. That *Candleſticks* are *Churches*; *The ſeven Golden Candleſticks*, ſayes the holy Ghoſt, *are ſeven Churches*. 9 *loco* 1 Sam. 14. 18. & *alibi.*

2. As *two Olive trees* there, ſhew two ranks of men, namely, godly Magiſtrates and Miniſters, ſo by the *two Olive trees* here, we underſtand men of the like condition, godly Magiſtrates and Miniſters alſo.

3. As thoſe by *dropping Oyl into a Candleſtick*, are ſo preſented reſtoring the Jewiſh Church, ſo the Witneſſes by *dropping Oyl into* theſe Candleſtick as Inſtruments of *light and grace* (both which *Oyl* in Scripture doth aptly ſignifie) do keep alive and lighted the Churches all the times of Antichriſt, and by this light reſtore, recover them, as alſo expell and win upon that darkneſſe, which had gained much upon the world before. 1 Sam. 16. 22.

4. As thoſe are ſaid *to ſtand by the God of the earth*, which whether it means their *ſtable and firm* abiding (for ſo much the word not unfrequently ſignifieth) or whether by it be meant they *miniſter before the Lord* (for ſo alſo tis often uſed) theſe likewiſe *ſtand before the God of the earth*, theſe in dropping Oyl into the Candleſticks, ſpending themſelves in caring for Church and Worſhips, they *miniſter before the God of the earth* alſo. Thus you have the Agreement. Pſal. 102. 26. Ier. 52. 12. compared with 2 Ki. 25 8.

Draw up now the ſum of all this Verſe together; and 'tis in ſhort this:

In that the holy Ghoſt deſcribes the *two Witneſſes* by *two Olive trees dropping Oyl into the candleſticks*, a type formerly uſed

to signifie Magistrates and Ministers bestowing themselves in caring for Temple, Church, Worships then decayed, it is as much as if he should tell us; *These Witnesses are godly Magistrates and Ministers, who during the times of Antichrist, shall bestow themselves in maintaining what of Church and Worships they have; reforming, repairing, restoring as there is need, and regaining what hath been lost by Antichristian encroachments.*

And that all this hath come to passe accordingly; That there have been such persons, and they done all that we now mention, how obviously were we acquainted with the Ecclesiasticall History would it appear? how cleerly should we see, not only the common sort of people, such as those *poor men of Lyons*, but Ministers, yea Nobles, yea Princes and Emperours have been of these Witnesses; who not only have dropt *Oyl into the candlesticks*, but even their *blood* also, in preserving them pure, and endeavouring to reform them from Antichristian impiety.

So you have the meaning of the words: the Observations now follow:

1. In that the Witnesses are typed out, and described by persons of quality, for such *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua* were; how likely is it, these Witnesses must be persons of quality, as they were: And if they were Magistrates and Ministers, by whom they are set forth and presented, how warrantably may we pronounce these Witnesses are Magistrates and Ministers also. I do not deny but even the meanest, testifying against Antichrist, is in a sort a Witnesse: but to be a Witnesse by way of eminence, to be such by office (as I may say) and so authoritatively to bear witnesse, this seems restrained onely to men of quality: and when the event answers accordingly (as was in part hinted before) me thinks there needs no further question in the businesse: when Histories will tell us, besides a succession of godly persons in the Ministry, there were also in the Magistracy, even in the highest places thereof, that did oppose themselves against the Idolatry and Tyranny of Antichrist. (such as were *Picus Mirandula*, *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, the *Lantgrave*, *Ernestus Brunswick* his son: Emperors also, *Henric.* 4. *Henric.* 5. *Lewis* 4. with others; besides some of the Princes of this and other Kingdoms) And so it appears they have been Magistrates and Ministers in deed, and in event, even just such as were the types

types before, by which they are ſhewed forth : Judge whether from all we may not ſafely pronounce ; The Magiſtrates and Miniſters oppoſing Antichriſt, are the *two Witneſſes.*

2. Are Candleſticks Churches? this learns us whence alone (as from the ordinary means) Spirituall and ſaving light is to be expected ; 'tis from the Churches, from the *candleſticks* : and ſure repair we to any other Societies of men whatſoever, and ſo far as they have nothing common with theſe, ſo farre there is no ſaving *light at all in* them : Here onely 'tis that the Scriptures appear as a flaming Beacon upon a hill, by which the Miniſters, as ſo many *candles*, being lighted, and ſet *up in the candleſtick, give light to all them that are in the houſe* ; all that is without this Verge being nothing elſe but pitchy darkneſſe. Matth. 5. 15.

And if ſo, what a ſad thing to be without a *candleſtick* ; or as Chriſt once threatned *Epheſus*, to have the *candleſtick taken away.* How ſad was the condition of the *Egyptians*, when in regard of that plague of darkneſſe then upon them, no man did *riſe from his place for the ſpace of three dayes* ? How much more ſad in Spirituall regards is their eſtate, who are without a Candleſtick, and ſo in Spirituall darkneſſe, *knowing not whither they go* ? Nay, Is not this that *utter darkneſſe* the Jews are threatned withall, whereby ſeems meant, if well conſidered, as well their unchurch'd condition in this life, as their ſtate of condemnation in the life to come when : the Kingdom of heaven, the Candleſtick, was taken away ; from that time they have been caſt forth into *utter darkneſſe.* Rev 2. 5. Exo 10. 23 1 Joh. 2. 11. Mat. 8. 12.

3. Are there *two candleſticks* in all this time? then ſure that cannot but be too hard a cenſure, that cries down all as Antichriſtian Churches, Antichriſtian Miniſters, all this time ; 'tis true, the Churches are now reduced to the ſmalleſt number, yet is there a number however, two Churches, two Candleſticks at leaſt in all the time of the prevailings of Antichriſt.

4. Are the Witneſſes *Olive trees, dropping Oyl into the candleſticks* ? this tells you whereabout the proper work of theſe Witneſſes lies ; 'tis about the Candleſticks, 'tis Church-work theirs, their care, their buſineſſe, is to have an eye to the Candleſticks : And if ſo, however then they look after Liberties, Properties, Safety, *&c.* yet their main care muſt be Church-work, preſerving, reforming, reſtoring in Church matters, matters of Worſhip,

ſhip, this ſhould be the chief care and endeavour of theſe Witneſſes; which doth not a little reflect upon us in this Kingdom, who have ſpent much time, much pains, in ſecuring Liberties, Properties, and providing for our ſafety; but *little Oyl* all this while *dropt into the Candleſticks*, little proportionably beſtowed in Church-work; which poſſibly is not the leaſt reaſon, Why after all this time, we are ſo far to ſeek; neither the work of Reformation, nor our own Safety to this day being advanced to any deſired perfection.

---

VERS. 5.

*And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: And if any man will hurt them, he muſt in this manner be killed.*

HAving preſented ſome few lines toward a perfect draught of theſe Witneſſes, and in them diſcovered what they are to the Church, namely, *as Oyl unto the Candleſtick*; in our further deſcription of them, we come now to ſhew what they are to thoſe that do oppoſe them (for they meet with oppoſers) and how well appointed they are to give them as hot as they bring, that ſhall dare to attempt any wrong or violence upon them. This you have diſcovered in theſe words; *And if any man will hurt them, &c.*

In which, who ſo dim ſighted, as not to perceive *Moſes* and *Elias* as with the finger pointed at? both which, when enemies have riſen up againſt them, have had the wrong by fire avenged upon thoſe enemies. So you reade of *Moſes* in the 16 of *Numb.* when *Korah*, and with him two hundred and fifty chief men of the Congregation, make there a tumult againſt him: at the 35 verſe of that Chapter, *Fire proceedeth from the Lord, and deſtroyes thoſe two hundred and fifty.* Of *Elias* alſo, you have it ſtoried in the 2 of *Kings* and 1. When that Idolatrous *Ahaziah* ſends two Captains, with fifty men apiece, one after the other, to lay hold upon the Prophet; upon his word, *fire comes down from heaven, and deſtroyes both the Captains, and both their fifties.* Ver. 11, 12.

Both theſe you have here a reference to, and this not onely becauſe of the ſame thing done, but (which is my apprehenſion, which alſo I touched upon before) becauſe there is a reſemblance

lance intended betwixt the doers alſo. I ſaid before, the two Olive trees did not onely ſignifie the like common work happening to *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, and to the Witneſſes, but ſeemed to hold forth a likeneſſe or ſameneſſe in the quality of the perſons alſo. So likewiſe, when in a further deſcription of theſe Witneſſes; we have them rendered ſuch, Out of whoſe mouthes fire procceding, deſtroyes their enemies (a plain alluſion to *Moſes* and *Elias*) I ſhould conceive, 'tis not only to ſhew the ſame thing done by all of them, and no more, but to tell us the perſons in reſemblance are another *Moſes* and *Elias* alſo.

And to make this yet ſeem more likely, obſerve we how juſt their work falls alike to all of them. Doth *Moſes* lead *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*? and do not theſe Witneſſes lead the Chriſtian *Iſrael* out of the *Romiſh Egypt*, of which no queſtion *Moſes* his former leading was a type? And doth *Elias* ſtand zealous for God, in that grand *Apoſtaſie* of *Iſrael*, no doubt a type of this grand Apoſtaſie of Antichriſt; and are not the Witneſſes cloathed with the *zealous Spirit* of *Elias*; nay, is it not *doubled* upon them, who dare contend with the Antichriſtian Apoſtates, even then when their Idolatries have ſo overwhelmed the world, that they onely are left oppoſing? 2 Kin. 2. 9.

And if this ſo, and there's no *new thing in all this*, the ſame Scene come about again; what ſtrange thing to ſee the ſame actors? and if now in the laſt act of the world there is a bringing out of *Egypt*, ſuch as was before; a contending with Apoſtates, as there was before; how every way elegant to make *Moſes* and *Elias* the actors here alſo.

Having thus found out the Witneſſes to be *Moſes* and *Elias* now, as we ſaw them *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua* (men of like quality and employment) before, leſt we miſtake the ſpeciall thing that's here mentioned done by them; we now proceed to a particular examination of it, *If any man will harm them, fire proceeds, &c.*

Which words we muſt in no wiſe underſtand in the letter. To think theſe Witneſſes ſhould indeed breath forih fire, and ſo deſtroy their enemies; what weakneſſe, or elſe perverſeneſſe at beſt, would any ſuch thought argue? And if not in the letter, then muſt we borrow the word πνευματικῶς hither, which we finde expreſly adjoyned to *Sodom* and *Egypt* at the 8 Verſe of this

this Chapter; and then we are to enquire what myſticall *fire* the Scripture mentions, and ſo what ſpiritually or myſtically the phraſe imports of *fire proceeding out of their mouthes and devouring their enemies.*

To anſwer this in ſhort: The Word of God in Scripture is ſeverall times compar'd to *fire*, *Jer.* 20 9. *Jer.*23. 29. *Is not my Word like as a fire, ſaith the Lord?* But eſpecially caſt your eye upon the 5 of *Jer.* 14. where you finde the Lord thus beſpeaking the Prophet: *And I will make my Word in thy mouth fire, and this people as wood, and it ſhall devour them.*

A place ſo paralell, ſo plain an interpretation of what we have in hand, that to me it ſeems altogether needleſſe to enquire any further meaning. Obſerve it, there you have the Lord threatning that People by the Prophet, but his word is ſlighted, and the Prophet that delivers the meſſage miſuſed; for this cauſe, *the Lords Word in the Prophets mouth ſhall be fire, and that People wood, and it ſhall devour them.* So here, you have the Witneſſes teſtifying againſt Antichriſt, for his great impieties; this teſtimony of theirs is ſlighted, themſelves oppoſed and miſuſed; to avenge which indignitie, fire comes out of their mouthes, takes hold of their oppoſers, they threaten Judgements, God accordingly executes them; thus *fire proceeds out of their mouth, and devours their enemies.* All this but confirming that of the Apoſtle; The Goſpel, and its Miniſters, *have in readineſſe to avenge every diſobedience.*

2 Cor. 10. 6.

Nor let any man ſtumble at the expreſſion, *They ſaid to deſtroy their enemies, who yet do but onely denounce deſtruction*: For 'tis an eaſie thing to ſhew, That what Gods Miniſters denounce in his Name, that they themſelves are ſaid to do.

*Ezekiel* in denouncing Judgement againſt the City, *Ezek.* 43. 3. is there ſaid to *deſtroy the City.* So when the Witneſſes, in the Lords Name, and by his direction, denounce deſtruction to their enemies, they likewiſe are then ſaid to deſtroy their enemies.

If now unto the former of *denouncing Judgements*, you adde alſo their *praying Judgemeuts* upon incorrigible enemies (which ſeems not unlikely to be meant here alſo) you have then the ſenſe thus much:

*Then when the Witneſſes pray Judgements, and denounce Judgements*

*ments upon their enemies, then does fire proceed out of their mouth, and deſtroyes their enemies.*

And whereas you have it repeated, [*And if any man will hurt them*] and again [*If any man will hurt them*] repetition betokening certainty (ſo *Joſeph* interprets the doubling of the Viſion ſhewn to *Pharaoh*, to note the certainty thereof) it is as much, as if in other words the holy Ghoſt had ſaid, *If any man ſhall preſume to hurt theſe Witneſſes, that man certainly ſhall be deſtroy'd.* Gen. 41 32

The meaning given thus piece-meal, put all together, and the reſult is this: *Theſe two Witneſſes, formerly* Zerubbabel and *Jeſhuah, now becauſe of like ſpirit, and employment, but expreſly becauſe in like manner protected from enemies, are* Moſes *and* Elias, *whom if any man ſhall attempt to harm, by denouncing and praying Judgements, they procure certain deſtruction upon them.*

And now having opened the words, before I proceed to draw out any Obſervations, give me leave to ſatisfie for what I took on truſt before; of which, till now, I could make no ready payment.

I formerly gave this one reaſon why the Witneſſes are ſaid to be *two, viz.* Becauſe they are deſcribed by *pairs*, but then ſhewed no ſuch thing. Now you have ſeen two *pair* already, *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhuah*, one; *Moſes* and *Elias* another; and there is one other *pair* behinde, not yet come into mention.

I ſaid before, The Scriptures, the two Teſtaments, were the *Teſtimony* of theſe Witneſſes, but denyed them to be the *Witneſſes themſelves*, becauſe they are deſcribed *as men, and by men*, but then gave proof of neither; but now I hope 'tis evident they are deſcribed as men, and men of former times, ſuch as *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, brought in to perſonate theſe Witneſſes which, together with that which follows, gives abundant, and every way ſatisfying evidence in this matter.

The Obſervations now follow:

1. Does *fire proceed out of theſe Witneſſes mouthes, deſtroying their enemies*? then muſt none think to harm theſe Witneſſes *impune*: they muſt not hope to carry it ſcot-free, be they who they will be, that ſhall preſume to offer violence to theſe Witneſſes, either by *praying*, or *denouncing* Judgements, they do procure deſtruction and ruine upon their enemies.

2. Are the Judgements of God denounced [*fire?*] Then wonder not

not that waxie hearts are melted by them, as was the heart of
2 Chro. 34 27. *Joſiah*; and on the contrary, the clayie hearts of others more hardned, and their chaffie hearts burnt up and devoured by them; marvell not at all, it is ſo, the Judgements of God denounced, they are *fire*.

3. In that it is repeated, *If any man will harm theſe Witneſſes, he muſt be deſtroyed*; take notice of the certain vengeance that doth await the perſecutors of theſe Witneſſes: Let them flatter themſelves in their preſent impunity as they liſt, and becauſe
Eccleſ. 8. 11. *ſentence is not ſpeedily executed upon them* for their violence done unto theſe Witneſſes, therefore pleaſe themſelves in purſuing of them ſtill; yet withall remember a certain and inevitable deſtruction will at laſt ſeize upon them.

---

## VERS. 6.

*Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the dayes of their prophecie: and have power over waters, to turn them into bloud; and to ſmite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.*

NOw forward with our deſcription, in which having already ſeen how well able theſe Witneſſes are to repay the wrongs done to their own particular, wherein alſo we have received further light concerning their perſons; proceed we now on, and we ſhall further underſtand in what manner they are furniſhed to avenge the Churches wrongs, almoſt deprived of beeing, if not wholly of appearance, through the ſpreading and prevalence of the Antichriſtian Apoſtacie.

This you have laid down in theſe words, *Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, &c.*

In which you may obſerve a *threefold power* wherewith theſe Witneſſes are inveſted:

1. A power *to ſhut heaven that it rain not.*
2. A power *to turn waters into bloud.*
3. A power *to ſmite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.*

Before you heard they *purſue their enemies with fire*, here they *ſhut heaven* againſt them, *turn their waters into bloud*, *and ſmite their earth with all plagues as often as they will.* What a miſerable plight are the enemies of theſe Witneſſes in, who have the *fire* armed againſt them before, and now the benefits of *heaven, earth, water*, all taken from them?

But

But let us take them in order; firſt; *Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the dayes of their prophecie*: In which who ſees not the forementioned *Elias* a new pointed at, of whom it is recorded, that praying he *ſhut up heaven that it rained not*, (the ſame *thing* here mentioned) and *this for three yeers and a half*; the juſt *terme* of theſe Witneſſes propheſie in ſackcloth. Jam. 5. 17.

But that we miſtake not by underſtanding all this in the letter, I mean either the *thing* it ſelf, or the *time*, we muſt again borrow the the word *αναγωγὴν*, enquiring out a myſticall underſtanding of them both.

For the *time* I have touched upon it before, and hereafter may have occaſion further to ſhew 'tis to be rekoned according to the propheticall account, every day in this three yeers and a half, being put for a yeer, as is the manner of propheſies ſometime to reckon, and then for their *ſhutting up heaven that it rain not*; we ſhall now trie to finde out ſome myſticall meaning of it.

For this purpoſe therefore, in that *Matt.*16.19. you have mention of *Keyes ſhutting heaven: heaven is then ſhut*, according to the minde of that place, when ſuch as live in ignorance, prophaneneſſe, idolatry, or any the like groſſe wickedneſſe, are by the Miniſtery of the Word, declared a people to who no comfort, no forgiveneſſe, no heaven doth belong.

However I doubt not but the ſame thing is meant in both places, yet in regard it is there, *heaven ſhut that people cannot enter*, here *heaven ſhut that it do not rain*, and ſo, though in ſubſtance they come both to one, yet the alluſion ſeems not ſo clear; we ſhall therefore trie further.

The glad tydings of the Goſpell are ſeverall times in Scripture compared to *rain*, (this me thinks will nick the alluſion:) I ſay again, the tydings of forgiveneſſe, mercie, &c. are oftentimes in Scripture compared to *rain*; ſo *Deut.* 32.2. *Iſa.*45.8, &c. and ſure could we ſtay to ſhew it, we ſhould finde the reſemblance patt, and every way anſweing. Doth rain refreſh the weary and thirſty earth? doth it ſoften? doth it make fruitfull? and do not the glad tydings of the Goſpell, the tydings of peace, forgiveneſſe, refreſh, ſoften, make fruitfull alſo?

This ſo, ſhall we ſay accordingly, then do theſe Witneſſes *ſhut*

*heaven that it rain not*, when they with hold all tydings of forgiveneſſe, mercy, peace, from the Antichriſtian Gentiles, while they continue ſuch, (the Church the mean while being refreſhed with theſe ſhowers every day) and further declare, as that third Angell does, *Chap.* 14. verſ. 9, 10, 11. (who no doubt is of theſe witneſſes) that ſuch as thoſe who *worſhip the Beaſt, and receive his marke, ſhall drink of the wrath of God*; no mercy, no forgiveneſſe at all appertains to them. And thus the former *ſhutting heaven* in *Matth.* and the withholding of the rain of heaven here, do now appear to be the ſame; of which the ſumme in ſhort is this much.

*As* Elias *ſhut heaven that it rained not upon thoſe apoſtate Iſraelites while they clave to Baal, which plainly is here alluded to; ſo while theſe Antichriſtian Gentiles continue ſuch, theſe two Witneſſes hold back all tydings of mercy and forgiveneſſe, (that bleſſed rain ſo chearing and refreſhing weary ſouls) declaring them while in that condition, a people to whom no forgiveneſſe, no heaven, but rather wrath, hell, and everlaſting vengeance appertains.*

We have ſeen the Witneſſes *power to ſhut heaven that it rain not*, laid open; *their turning waters into blood, and ſmiting the earth with all plagues, as often as the will*, next follows; which in regard they both concern the ſame thing, as may appear by and by; in the handling of them therefore we ſhall joyn both together.

And here me thinks we meet with ſome thing like the *vials*, Rev. 15. 1. thoſe *ſeven vials* (I mean) emptying out upon Antichriſt the ſeven laſt plagues of the wrath of God. And becauſe this ſeems not unlikely, and the cleering of this will help us to underſtand the words; as alſo not a little conduce to ſatisfie in that great queſtion, *Whether the time of theſe Witneſſes be paſt, yea or no*, (as we ſhall ſee hereafter:) our ſatisfaction in which is the great deſigne we drive in all this undertaking: we ſhall therefore firſt enquire, whether at all we have any thing here relating to the vials, yea, or no; and when this is done, then proceed to take a view of the words more particularly.

The grounds perſwading to beleeve the Vials are here meant, are ſuch as theſe.

1. Thoſe plagues of the Vials, and theſe here, do fall together into the ſame time, the ſpace of the ſixth Trumpet receives both of

of them. The Vials (ſo many waſtes and graduall deſtructions of the beaſt) muſt needs be pouring forth the time of the ſixth Trumpet: for at the beginning of the ſeventh, with which the laſt Vial falls in, the *beaſt his time is no more*: [the beaſt, Antichriſt] is then deſtroyed by an utter & irrecoverable deſtruction. The tenth Chapter of this Propheſie, and ſixth verſe, compared with the ſixteenth Chapter, 17, and 19 Verſes, cleers this ſame to any, that ſhall with care and obſervation examine them.

And that the plagues here mentioned bear the ſame date, fall in with the time of the ſixth Trumpet alſo, hence appears; for theſe plagues being chiefly drawn forth by theſe witneſſes toward the end of their Propheſie, and that ending with the *ſixth Trumpet* [the *ſecond Wo*] as is plain from the 13 and 14 verſ. of this Chapter; who ſees not that theſe fall in with the *time of the ſixth Trumpet* alſo? And ſo becauſe thoſe plagues, and theſe here, are both wrapt up in the *ſixth Trumpet*, and ſo fall into the ſame time, this is one inducement perſwading they are the ſame plagues alſo.

2. Thoſe who pour forth the Vialls, and the Witneſſes who inflict the plagues here mentioned, ſeem all the *ſame perſons*. The *Angels* who pour out the *Vialls* deſcribed *coming forth of the Temple, clothed with pure and white linnen, and their breſts girded with golden girdles*, who are they but godly ones, whether Magiſtrates or Miniſters; who appertaining to, or coming forth of Reformed Churches, do *pour forth the Vialls*. And are not the Witneſſes who execute theſe plagues godly Magiſtrates and Miniſters, who pertrining to the Temple mentioned at the firſt Verſe of this Chapter; that is, The Churches reformed, come forth thence, and inflict theſe plagues upon the Antichriſtian Gentiles? And indeed how can we imagine that any ſhould come forth of Reformed Churches, and pour out a Viall, a plague, upon the Antichriſtian party, and not be of theſe Witneſſes? when ſuch is the nature of the plagues containcd in the Vialls, as we may ſee by and by, that in nothing can any more openly and effectually witneſſe againſt Antichriſt, and the Antichriſtian brood, then by pouring out any of theſe Vialls upon them. They are the ſame perſons then, the godly Magiſtrates and Miniſters of Reformed Churches, that pour forth the Vials, and that execute the plagues the Text here mentions. Cha. 15. 6.

3. As they fall out at the ſame time, are inflicted by the ſame hands, ſo upon enquire you will finde them the ſame plagues alſo. To cleer this ſame: Have you *here* [*a turning Waters into blood?*] upon the pouring out of the ſecond and third Vials you
Chap. 16. 3, 4. have the *Waters then turned to blood alſo.* Do you reade here [*of plaguing the earth, with all plagues*] mark it [plaguing the *earth*] what can hereby be meant, but the other Vialls? all whereof at the firſt verſe of the 16 Chapter, are to *be poured upon the earth, the Angels there are commanded to pour all their Vialls upon the earth alſo?* Adde this now to the former; Theſe plagues are inflicted at the ſame *time*, by the ſame *hands*, yea, are the very ſame *plagues*; and now who ſees not the Vialls are here pointed at (which was the thing in queſtion) and when the holy Ghoſt tellsus, The Wniteſſes *turn Waters into blood, ſmite the earth with all plagues* (as in the Text) who ſees not 'tis as much as if in other words we had been told, *Theſe Witneſſes are they who pour forth the Vialls?*

I muſt not diſſemble what diſſent I finde in this matter, ſome conceiving, theſe plagues here mentioned, do rather relate to ſome of the foremoſt Trumpets, which ſounding, you finde the
Chap. 8. Verſ. 7. 8. *like plaguing the earth, and turning of waters into blood,* even ſuch like plagues as you have here mentioned.

With ſubmiſſion I cannot conceive thoſe plagues to be the ſame with thoſe of the firſt and ſecond Trumpet, for theſe Reaſons:

1. Not to mention thoſe, which prove theſe the ſame with the Vialls, firſt, becauſe theſe fall within the time of the *ſixth Trumpet*, as (we ſhewed before) and therefore cannot be the plagues of the *firſt and ſecond Trumpet*; the conſequence is cleer, becauſe the plagues comprized in the time of the *ſixth Trumpet*, muſt needs be a long ſpace after the plagues comprized in the time of the *firſt and ſecond Trumpet*; the *ſixth Trumpet* being a good ſpace after the *firſt and ſecnod Trumpet.*

2. Thoſe plagues of the former Trumpets, and theſe of the Witneſſes, fall not upon the ſame *ſubject*: thoſe of the former Trumpets, as is evident to any obſervant Reader, falling upon *Rome Chriſtian*; theſe of the Witneſſes falling upon *Rome Antichriſtian*: to cleer this latter (the former being without queſti-
Verſ. 7. on) And is it not ſo, when becauſe of theſe plagues, you have

Anti-

Antichriſt in the very next words, *waging War with theſe Witneſſes, and ſlaying them*? Is it not plain theſe plagues fall upon the Antichriſtian Party, when they are brought in at the tenth Verſe, *rejoycing* for their ſlaughter, and this expreſly the reaſon, Becauſe they were now got ſhut of thoſe, who while they lived, *tormented them with all theſe plagues*? The ſubject then of theſe is *Rome Aniichriſtian*; *of the other, Rome Chriſtian*; and if ſo, they neither fall within the *ſame time*, nor upon *the ſame ſubject*, 'tis evident they cannot be the *ſame plagues* (the thing contended for) and if theſe be not the ſame, there being none other in all this Propheſie that do reſemble them, ſave onely the Vialls, it remains an unſhaken truth, the *plagues* here mentioned are no other then the *Vialls*. Verſ. 20.

This much gained, we now proceed particularly to examine the words; *Theſe have power over Waters, to turn them into blood, &c.* In which who beholds not another *pair*, even *Moſes* and *Aaron*, now coming forth to perſonate theſe Witneſſes: of whom we reade in ſacred Story, That bringing *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, they *turned the Egyptian waters into blood, plagued the earth, &c.* the very ſame you have here done by the hands of theſe Witneſſes. And now you have the *laſt pair*, where by theſe Witneſſes are deſcribed: Formerly they were *Zerubbabell* and *Jeſhua*, after that *Moſes* and *Elias*, now in the cloſe of this repreſentation they are *Moſes* and *Aaron*: There now wants nothing to make the deſcription of theſe Witneſſes compleat, but that we ſee what 'tis theſe Witneſſes do, that makes them appear another *Moſes* and *Aaron*; which done, we have then at once a full deſcription and view of theſe Witneſſes. Exod. 7. Exod 8.

To this therefore I haſten, in entrance where upon, let me warn you as I did before, you are not to underſtand this ſame in the letter, namely, That indeed, and in the letter, the Witneſſes ſhould turn *Waters into blood*; but as we underſtood their *deſtroying their enemies with fire*, their ſhutting *heaven that it rain not*, myſtically before, ſo muſt we underſtand their *turning Waters into blood* alſo.

But becauſe I have already ſhewn theſe plagues are no other then thoſe of the *Vials*, the better to compaſſe the meaning, it will not be amiſſe for us to turn over to the 16 Chapter of this Propheſie, where the Vialls are by the holy Ghoſt profeſſedly mention-

mentioned, where if we finde what's meant by [*turning waters into blood*, and *ſmiting the earth with plagues* there] we ſhal cleerly ſee what to underſtand by them here alſo, they being all one, onely here but glanced at, there by the holy Ghoſt profeſſedly and at large diſcovered.

In that 16 Chapter therefore (for I turn over thither) we finde that upon the pouring forth of the ſecond and third Vials, *the waters are turned into blood*, both theſe I conceive are here pointed at. For the holy Ghoſt, ſeeming in this place to give a touch upon the Vials, ſumming them up briefly under two Heads, *viz.* either plagues on the *waters*, or plagues on the *earth*, and ſo to be apprehended, thruſting as many as would fall under an head together, there being *two Vials* that will come under this head of [*turning waters into blood*] who doth not readily conceive *both theſe Vials* muſt hereby be hereby ſignified? So that it will be needfull we enquire the meaning of them both.

To begin therefore with the ſecond Vial, the firſt of thoſe that turn waters into blood, which in that 3 Verſe of the 16 Chapter we finde is poured out upon the *Sea*, and the effect, *it become as the blood of a dead man.* This Vial (ſay ſome of our beſt Interpreters, whom I muſt truſt at preſent, it requiring no ſmall time profeſſedly and to purpoſe to ſpeak to theſe Vials) was then poured forth, when all the *Popiſh Doctrines* being gathered into one by the *Councell of Trent*, afterward by *Bellarmine*, and others: the godly Miniſters of the Reformed Churches, by their writings, diſcovered all that *Sea* of of *Popiſh Doctrine* to be but as the *blood of a dead man*, no *living blood of Jeſus Chriſt* diſcoverable in it all; and thoſe that live no other life then what they draw from thoſe corrupt Doctrines, to be in a dead, damnable, and undone condition.

Cha. 16. 3.

This the ſecond Vial.

The third is poured forth upon the *rivers*, and *fountains* at the 4 Verſe, and the effect is, *theſe become blood alſo.*

And then was this Vial poured forth (ſay Interpreters, whom I again refer to) when in the times of *Queen Elizabeth* this State made a Law againſt *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*, enacting it Treaſon for any to ſeduce this People to the Romiſh Religion; upon which ſeverall of them, as *Campian*, *Ducket*, *Sherwin*, and

and afterwards others were executed: and when at this day according to that Law we execute a Prieſt, or Jeſuite; then do we poure forth this *Viall* upon the *Antichriſtian Waters*, and they *become bloud.*

By this reckoning (and ſo to bring all home to the Text) then are the witneſſes ſaid to *turn the Antichriſtian Waters into bloud*; when by their cleer writings, and other wayes they diſcover all that *Sea of Popiſh doctrine to be but as the bloud of a dead man*; and further do *execute their Prieſts, and Jeſuites*, who as *Rivers*, do derive and carry from place to place, the *Waters* of this noyſome Sea, thereby to poyſon, and deſtroy the ſouls of ſeduced people.

And by the way, who is not now fully ſatisfied, *the Witneſſes poure forth the Vials* (the thing we ſo induſtriouſly proved before) when having but mentioned two Vials, we find the godly Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the reformed Churches (whom all along we have ſhewn to be theſe two Witneſſes) have already poured forth both of them? The *former*, the godly *Miniſters*, ſuch as *Chemnitius, Chamier, Junius, Reignolds, &c.* The *latter*, the godly *Magiſtrates*, as certain of the number of theſe Witneſſes alſo. Thus *theſe Witneſſes turn Waters into bloud.* The next thing that follows, *And they ſmite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will*; this falls now in order to be enquired concerning.

And to be ſhort, what can this mean, but (which we touched upon before) the pouring forth the other Vialls, all which at the firſt Verſe of that 16 Chapter, are commanded there to be *poured forth upon the earth?* And if this be ſo, you have then the ſumme of the former, and of this ſame, in one word this much, *In that the Holy Ghoſt tells us, theſe Witneſſes turn Waters into bloud, and ſmite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will, 'tis all one, as if he had ſaid, Theſe Witneſſes do pour forth all the Vials.*

And now by this time you have had the Witneſſes at full ſhewed forth, you have ſeen *who they are.* They are *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*; *Moſes* and *Elias*; *Moſes* and *Aaron*: you have ſeen *what they do.* They ſpend themſelves into the *Candleſticks*; to the Churches they are as *Oyl* is to the Lamps; nouriſhing, and keeping them alive all the time of Antichriſts prevailing; if any

attempt to wrong them, *fire proceeds out of their mouths, and deſtroyes* ſuch as do attempt it. And for the wrongs the Anti-chriſtian Gentiles offer the Church, theſe Witneſſes *ſhut heaven upon them, that it rain not, nay pour forth all the Vials of the wrath of God upon them.*

Thus you have all the *active* part of theſe Witneſſes already drawn forth. That which follows, is their *paſſive*, which when I have touched upon one or two obſervations from theſe laſt words, I ſhall without any other interruption fall upon. The Obſervations are theſe:

1. Is heaven ſhut by theſe Witneſſes, ſo *that no rain* falls upon the Antichriſtian party, all the glad tydings of forgiveneſſe, and reconciliation withheld from them? How ſad muſt needs be the condition of ſuch a people? What have they to ſoften them, to make them fruitfull, when no rain at all falls upon them.

2. How fruitfull on the contrary ſhould we be, who live under the droppings of heaven, and are refreſhed with the former, and latter rain alwayes in their ſeaſons? Poor Papiſts have no
Iſa. 5. 5, 6. *rain*: Yea, how much the rather ſhould we endeavour fruitfulneſſe, leſt for default, that ſame be made good upon us, which once the Lord threatned, his Vineyard withall, *he would take away the hedge, and would command the clouds, that they ſhould rain no rain upon it.*

3. Do the Witneſſes pour forth all the Vials? No marvell
Verſ. 10. then, they are ſaid *to torment them that dwell upon the earth*; No marvell, thoſe ſame Inhabitants of the earth *rejoyce, they are got rid of them*, as they do, when by the hands of theſe Witneſſes, is emptied forth ſo much wrath upon them.

---

VERS. 7.

*And when they have finiſhed their teſtimony, the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſſe pit, ſhall make warre againſt them, and ſhall overcome them, and kill them.*

WE have ere while ſeen *who theſe Witneſſes are, what they do*, how grievouſly they torment Antichriſt, with his party: which becauſe theſe Witneſſes do not carry *impune*, Antichriſt not ſitting down unrevenged, it now followes, we ſee

what

what is done to them, and how they are repaid for all the plagues wherewith Antichriſt, and his party have by them been tormented: This is laid down in the words above mentioned, as alſo them that follow; *And when they have finiſhed their teſtimony, the beaſt, &c.*

In which who ſo obſerves, ſhall finde as cleer an alluſion to our *Saviour*, as ſet forth in the ſtory of his death, reſurrection, and aſcending up to heaven, as before to any of the types, whereby theſe witneſſes were formerly repreſented.

Our Saviour when he had preached neer three yeers and half; about the number of the dayes of the Propheſie of theſe Witneſſes, was by *Pilate*, and ſo by *Rome then Heathen*, as the Witneſſes *by Rome now Antichriſtian*, put to death. After three dayes, there being a great earthquake riſes again, and not long after, is received up to heaven in a cloud. To all which who ſees not a plain alluſion intended; when in the deſcription of theſe witneſſes ſuffrings, and after reſtauration, you have mention of the like *death, earth-quake, reſurrection, and aſcending up to heaven in a cloud alſo?* So that if before in what they *did*, they were like *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*; *Moſes* and *Elias*; *Moſes* and *Aron*, here for what they *ſuffer*, and the ſequell, they are cleerly reſembled to that *faithfull and true witneſſe Jeſus Chriſt.* Cha. 5.14.

This much in the groſſe, but look more particularly, and you ſhall finde in what is mentioned of theſe Witneſſes ſufferings, ſuch ſpecialls obſervable as theſe;

1. There is *warre waged* with theſe witneſſes, and the conſequent the Witneſſes *overcome, and killed.*

2. The *enemy* that wages this warre, *The beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſſe pit.*

3. The *time* when this warre is waged, and theſe witneſſes overcome, and killed by this beaſt, and this is (ſayes the Text) *when they have finiſhed their teſtimony.* I ſhall addreſſe my ſelf to ſpeak of theſe in this order: Firſt, the warre waged and the conſequents, then that which follows in the order above mentioned.

And for this *warre* waged with theſe Witneſſes, we muſt not think this is the firſt, which hath ever been raiſed againſt them: as though the Witneſſes, had met with no oppoſings, all the

time of their propheſie (continuing ſo many hundred yeers) till juſt toward the end, and cloſe of it, we muſt not ſo conceive at any hand: For if you conſult, the thirteenth Chapter, and ſeventh verſe, you finde the beaſt (theſe Witneſſes enemy, and as old, as are theſe Witneſſes) ſo ſoon almoſt as he receives
Cha. 13. 2. being, receives *power to make warre with the Saints, and to overcome, and kill them.* And in the twelfth Chapter and laſt verſe, the *Dragon* who ſubſtitutes this beaſt, and on whom he eſtates *his power, throne, and great authority* (himſelf being now no longer able to hold them in his own name) as ſoon as ever the Woman was *ſcaped into the Wilderneſſe*, which is now ſeverall hundred yeers agone, he goes forth under covert of this beaſt,
Chap. 12. Verſ. ult. *To make warre with the remnant of her ſeed, which kept the Commandments of God, and had the teſtimony of* JESUS CHRIST.

And ſure the event ſhews as much, when above four hundred yeers agone, in that one Kingdom of *Gaule* (now called *France*) if *Perionius* may be beleeved, at leaſt ten hundred thouſand of thoſe godly *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* were butchered by this beaſt. And can we imagine ſo many Saints ſlain, and none of theſe Witneſſes among all theſe numbers?

This warre then here mentioned, ſuppoſes not the Witneſſes *untouched* all the time of their propheſie before, but rather ſeemes to hold forth ſome *eminent warre*, now at laſt to be raiſed againſt them; which perhaps, becauſe it ſhall differ from all the former in the *quality* of it, or ſpecially in the *ſucceſſe*, ſtriking of all the Witneſſes there, where 'tis done, which no other warre had perhaps done before, is therefore by the Holy Ghoſt thought fit onely to be mentioned.

Nor yet therefore can we ſay this warre ſhall be more *grievous* and *bloudy* then all the former, poſſibly it is not mentioned for any eminent bloudſhed accompanying it, but rather (as ſome conceive) for a ſigne of the inſtant, and neer approaching ruine of Antichriſt, which but a little after follows it however; I dare not ſay this laſt warre, ſhall be eminent for bloudſhed beyond all the former, for this reaſon I now offer. If this ſame killing of theſe Witneſſes can not be

underſtood

underſtood in the Letter, *viz.* That indeed, and in the Letter theſe Witneſſes ſhould be ſlain, but a myſticall killing is only here underſtood; then ſure this cannot be a killing ſo very bloudy: But that this muſt be underſtood not of a *reall* killing, but a *myſticall* hence appeares: Such as is the *reſurrection* of theſe Witneſſes mentioned at the eleventh Verſe, ſuch muſt needs be the *killing*, here mentioned, for of *oppoſites there is the ſame reaſon.* But their reſurrection we muſt needs underſtand myſtically, for of no reſurrection properly ſo called, do we read before the twentieth Chapter of this propheſie, which muſt neceſſarily follow ſome ſpace the riſing again of theſe Witneſſes here mentioned. *Oppoſitorum eadem ratio.* Cha. 20. 5.

This then is a myſticall killing, a throwing them from place, out of office, ſome civill death: As when a man in place formerly, now thrown out, may be ſaid to be killed in his office, is dead in law: So theſe, ceaſing from place in Church, and Commonwealth, which as Magiſtrates and Miniſters, they ſometimes enjoyed, and this accompanied perhaps with the killing of ſome of them indeed; this ſeems the *killing of the Witneſſes*, we are to underſtand here.

I ſay again the *killing of theſe Witneſſes* by this reckoning, ſeems no other, then *the throwing them from that ſtation, which once they held in the Reformed Churches, being taken off from executing that Magiſtracie, that Miniſtry they once had; and this poſſibly attended with the reall ſlaughter of ſome of them*, Though the other, the killing of them in their office, ſeem the main, and more generall ſlaughter here intended.

Having ſeen whats done to theſe Witneſſes, [*They are ſlain*] we next enquire *who ſlayes them*, and to this the Text makes anſwer, *The beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſſe pit*: this now next in order comes to be handled.

For this therefore you may take notice, there is a ſeverall mention made of *beaſts* in this propheſie; in the fourth Chapter you have four *beaſts* ſpoken of, in the thirteenth Chapter theres mention made of *two*; *one with two horns*, another *with tenne*: But no where doe we finde a *beaſt aſcending out of the* Chap. 4. Verſ. 6, 7, 8, 9. Chap. 13. Verſ. 1. & 11.

*bottomleſſe pit*, this character being expreſly affixed, ſave onely in
Cha. 17, 8. the 17 Chapter of this Propheſie, whitherto having recourſe (where the holy Ghoſt ſeems not more to *propheſie*, then *interpret*) we ſhall beſt finde what's meant by the *beaſts aſcending out of the bottomleſſe pit* here mentioned, and ſo in concluſion who it is that doth ſlay theſe Witneſſes.

In that 17 Chapter therefore you have a woman preſented
Verſ. 3. ſitting upon a *Scarlet-coloured beaſt*, *having ſeven heads and ten horns*. In the opening whereof, the *Woman* is expreſly by the
Verſ. 11. holy Ghoſt called, *The great City which ruleth over the Kings of the earth*; that is, *Rome*; for at that time *Rome* onely of all the Cities of the world, was capable of any ſuch deſcription; and if ſo, the *Woman* be *Rome*, it muſt needs follow the *Beaſt* ſhe ſits upon muſt be the *Roman Empire*, this follows ſo cleer from the former, none need s to make queſtion of it.

But becauſe the Roman Empire in its Bulk conſidered, and according to its *materiale*, doth no more aſcend out of *the bottomleſſe pit* then other Empires and Kingdomes do; to looſe this knot, hear a little further: The holy Ghoſt ſhewing the
Verſ. 10. myſtery of the *ſeven heads, and ten horns*, tells us, The *ſeven heads* are *ſeven Kings*, or *ſeven kindes of Government*, *five* whereof, namely, That of *Kings*, *Conſuls*, *Tribunes*, *Decemviri*, and *Dictators*, were expired already; *one*, namely, That of *Cæſars*, *was*, it *was* when *John* ſaw this Viſion; and the *ſeventh*,
Verſ 8. that of *Popes*, was *to come*; and when it *comes*, *this kinde of Government was to aſcend out of the bottomleſſe pit*. So that by this account, not ſo much the *Empire*, *the body of the Beaſt*, as the *ſeventh head of this Beaſt*, *comes out of the bottomleſſe pit*; or elſe thus, The Empire, as ruled by the Popes, and thus caſt into an Antichriſtian Form, *this is the Beaſt aſcending out of the bottomleſſe pit*; *The Roman Empire Antichriſtinnized*, *is the Beaſt aſcending out of the bottomleſſe pit ſlaying theſe Witneſſes*.

But why is this kinde of Government ſaid to *aſcend out of the bottomleſſe pit*? I was once thinking the ſame thing meant by this expreſſion, as by the ſame Beaſt's *aſcending out of the Sea*, at the 13 Chapter and 1 Verſe; which *Sea* is frequently in Scripture called the *Abyſſe*, or *bottomleſſe pit*; and there, as in other places, ſignifies no more then a *multitude of people*, which becauſe ſubjecting themſelves to the Government of this Beaſt,

thence

thence is this Beaſt ſaid to *riſe out of the Sea.* But when I finde that none of all the former *heads* but might in this ſenſe be ſaid to *aſcend out of the bottomleſſe pit*; namely, Becauſe ariſing from the multitude of people ſubjecting themſelves to them, and yet finde none of them ſaid *to riſe out of the bottomleſſe pit*, ſave this *laſt*, this of *Popes* onely, it cleerly to me holds forth thus much. The other kindes of Government, ſhadowed out by the former heads, had ſomewhat of God in them. at worſt were but the Ordinances of men; but this ſeventh head, this Government of Popes, this hath its originall from hell, its *coming*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, is *after the working of Sathan*, 'tis his deviſing, comes from the *bottomleſſe pit*, and ſhall in due time be ſent thither back again. 2 Theſſ. 2. 9.

So that adde this to the former, and the Romane Empire under the ſeventh head, namely, that of Popes (a Government deviſed, and eſtabliſhed by the contrivance of hell, the workman-ſhip of *Sathan*) this is *the Beaſt aſcending out of the bottomleſſe pit, ſlaying theſe Witneſſes.* τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς σατανᾶ.

You have ſeen then the enemy that wages War with theſe Witneſſes, and ſlayes them; the next thing we are to enquire, is the time *when theſe Witneſſes are ſlain*, and this is then *when they have finiſhed their teſtimony*; this now follows to be enquired concerning.

I finde this [τὸν τελέσωσι] ſeverall wayes tranſlated; ſome render it as here, [*when they have finiſhed*;] others, and thoſe very accurate Interpreters, tranſlate the Aoriſt by the future, and ſo render it [*when they are about to finiſh*;] which latter if ſo, the meaning muſt fall thus, then when the Witneſſes draw toward end of their mourning teſtimony, the Church by this time being in ſome good meaſure reformed, and having now gained much ground upon Antichriſt, are ready to throw off their Sackcloth, then the Beaſt aſcending out of the bottomleſſe pit, makes War with them, and ſlayes them.

So that putting all together, *viz. Their killing, The beaſt that kills them, and The time when they are killed*; and you have the meaning of all at one view thus much:

*Then when the Witneſſes are about to cloſe up their teſtimony, and having done much in reforming the Church, having regained much of the utter Court, which Antichriſt had gained whole poſ-*

*ſeſſion*

*ſeſſion of before, are now about to put off their Sackcloth, the Antichriſtian power, at this time collecting it ſelf, poſſibly by murthering ſome, but chiefly by putting them from their places, diſinabling, ſuſpending, and ſilencing, ſhall thus overcome, kill, and make an end of theſe Witneſſes.*

And now perhaps it will be expected, eſpecially having ſo fair a hint given by the Text; we ſhould come to ſome determination *Whether the killing of theſe Witneſſes be paſt yea or no*; but in regard we ſhall be furniſhed with moſt light then when we have heard the Propheſie ſpeak out, we ſhall therefore adjourn the deciſion till the laſt, ſtill continuing to proceed forward in opening the Propheſie; onely before we do proceed any further from this laſt verſe, we now opened, take theſe obſervations:

1. Are the Witneſſes ſlain when they have done their teſtimony? Hence take notice, Beſt men, and beſt Offices, are ſometime of all other the worſt rewarded: here are Witneſſes, calling ſinners home from dangerous and periſhing wayes, beſeeching them to turn from *dumb Idols, to ſerve the living God*, then which none can do a better Office, yet after all their pains beſtowed, they are killed for a recompence.

2. Are theſe ſlain then when their mouths are ſtopped, when they ceaſe to witneſſe? By this account men live no longer then they work; and whoſo hath left off to do the Lords work, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks in another caſe, *is dead while he lives*; he that *reſted from his labour*, by this reckoning is no other then dead.

1 Tim. 5. 6.
Rev. 14. 13

3. Doth the *Beaſt* ſlay theſe Witneſſes? Oh the plague this *Beaſt*, this *Antichriſt* is to the world! but two lights leading a blinde world from perdition, and the Antichriſtian power puts them both out, *ſlayes both the Witneſſes.*

4. Doth the *Beaſt* aſcend out of the bottomleſſe pit, the Antichriſtian kinde of Government, aſcend out of hell? ſure then they much miſtake themſelves that tell us 'tis *jure divino*: they much miſtake its originall, that tell us it is from heaven: 'tis from hell, from the bottomleſſe pit, if we believe the Scriptures; there it had its conception, and ſhall in due time be returned thither back again.

VERS. 8.

*And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great City, which is Spiritually called* Sodome, *and* Egypt, *where also our Lord was crucified.*

OUr last work concerned the *killing* of the Witnesses; It follows now we look what becomes of their *dead bodies*, in these words; *And their dead bodies shall lie in the street, &c.*

The slaughter of these Witnesses being for the most part an *unbloody* slaughter, the killing of them in their Office, as we saw before, by the like proportion; their *lying dead*, what can it mean but their continuing in that state of civill death, which their former slaughter brought them into. They remaining suspended from the execution of that Office which as Magistrates and Ministers they held before, remaining silent, not prophesying, not witnessing any thing authoritatively as they did formerly; this seems meant by the Witnesses *lying dead.* I say again, Their mouthes were stopt at what time they were slain, and since then they continue silent, dead to all that life which as the Lords Prophets and Witnesses they lived before; thus they *lie for some space as dead corpses after their slaughter.*

But passing from this, let's take a view of the place where these Witnesses lie dead, this follows, and 'tis [ *In the street of the great City, spiritually called* Sodom, *and* Egypt, *where also our Lord was crucified.*]

A *place* so at large set forth, and by such apt resemblances, as indeed it seems even next door to naming it; in the description whereof, the holy Ghost bestows so many words, that when he would not name it, yet would seem to make such sure work, that any who had but half an eye, should not misse the understanding of it.

This place, because it will afford much variety of matter not unprofitable, we shall therefore take a more exact view of it, enquiring, first, What this *great City* is? Then, what the *street*? Why this *great City* is called *Sodom*? Why *Egypt*? Why *the place where our Lord was crucified*?

For the first of these; Whereas it is said the dead bodies of

theſe Witneſſes do *lie in the ſtreet of the great City*; by the *great City*, it ſeems we muſt neceſſarily underſtand *Rome*. So much is underſtood by this ſame expreſſion, the holy Ghoſt himſelf interpreting at the 17 Chapter of this Propheſie, and laſt Verſe: And when further you have mention of [the great Whore] [Great *Babylon*] and the like, ſtill *Rome* is meant by all thoſe expreſſions: Only once in this book the *new Jeruſalem* (extant after the fall of *Babylon*) is called the *great City*; but that the *new Jeruſalem* ſhould be meant by the *great City* here, none can be ſo far loſt to all underſtanding as once to imagine it.

Cha. 17 1. Ch. 16 19. Ch. 20. 10.

Ch 16.19. And ſure not without cauſe is *Rome* called great *Babylon*, the *great City*; for whether you take greatneſſe to ſignifie an *amplitude of power*, (for ſo ſometimes 'tis uſed to ſignifie) hence the *great King* is as much as *King of kings*: or take greatneſſe for *ſpaciouſneſſe*: What City can compare with *Rome* in either of theſe?

Pſal. 48. 2.

In the former; What City can, when you have *Rome* by the holy Ghoſt himſelf deſcribed [*the great City that ruleth over the Kings of the earth*:] *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, no Citie ever extending its power ſo far as *Rome*.

Chap. 17. ult.

And for ſpaciouſneſſe which can, at this day, when but a part of it remains; 'tis 15 or 16 miles in compaſſe within the Walls (if *Lipſius* may be believed) but when this Propheſie was written, it was then in compaſſe 42 miles: And is not this then with good reaſon called the *great City*?

*Admirand. lib. 3.*

*Bell lib. 3. de Pa.*

I know *Bellarmine*, with ſome other Popiſh Writers, as alſo ſome late ones of our own, contend *Jeruſalem* muſt be here meant the *great City*; but how likely, let others judge: For firſt, for *extent of power*, none will ſay it ever came neer *Rome*, 'twas utterly inconſiderable to *Rome*, which was indeed *urbs caput orbis*, the City, the Empreſſe of the World; yea, which at once did ſwallow up *Jeruſalem* with all its Territory, and little leſſe then an hundred times as much as all that came to:

*Hieronim.*

*Wilhelmus Tyrius, lib. 8 de bello ſacro urbs maximis mediocribus minor.*

And for *ſpaciouſneſſe*, take this record concerning *Jeruſalem*; It was *a City leſſe then the greateſt, greater then the leaſt*, a middling City (as we ſay) this is all that can be ſaid for the compaſſe of it: which if ſo, *Jeruſalem* then cannot be the *great City* here meant; and if not *Jeruſalem*, then muſt *Rome* be it; for beſides *Jeruſalem*, there is none elſe that ſtands in competition.

*Rome*

*Rome* then is the *great City*; but now the *ſtreet* of the *great City* follows, that muſt be our next enquire.

And concerning this ſame, it is not to be conceived (I ſuppoſe) a *ſtreet* properly ſo called, ſuch as every great City hath many of; for beſides, That Armies do not uſe to make the City, and ſo no one ſtreet of a City their place of fight, which yet they muſt ſay who ſhall here be peremptory for the letter: beſides this (I ſay) neither was our Saviour crucified in any ſtreet of the City, but *without the Gate*, who yet is ſaid *there* to be crucified *where* theſe Witneſſes *lay dead*, *even in the ſtreet of the great City*; from all which it appears not to be a *ſtreet* properly ſo called, and therefore ſome other muſt be enquired after. Heb 13.12

Shall we therefore ſay the *ſtreet of the great City* means the Romiſh Territority, the ſpace wherein the Romiſh Government is exerciſed. This ſeems not unlikely; and if the word [πλατεῖα] ſignifying [*a ſtreet*] be well examined, it will be found not altogether to abhor from ſuch a meaning. In regard therefore this cannot be a *ſtreet* properly ſo taken, and then further 'tis but *one ſtreet*, ſuch as the greateſt Cities ſeem to have but one of; though of *ſtreets* properly ſo taken, there is no City but hath many, as alſo becauſe the word [πλατεῖα] will bear it; be the Roman Territory, that ſpace wherewith the Roman Juriſdiction is co-extended [*The ſtreet of this great City.*]

רחב often by the LXX, tranſlated πλατεῖα ſignifies, *Quicquid eſt extra, regio &c.* Job. 5. 10. Likewiſe רחב rendred alſo by the LXX πλατεῖα, will not gainſay, but a whole country may be called πλατεῖα. *Vid. Meld. Com. Apoca.*

But now why is this *great city Spiritually called Sodom*? this next follows to be enquired concerning.

This word [πνευματικῶς, *Spiritually*] bars us out from any thought that this City here mentioned ſhould be *Sodom* indeed; No, this City is *ſpiritually Sodom*; and yet not [*ſpiritually*] as often the word is taken, *viz.* when [earthly and carnally] are oppoſed, for ſo both the one City and the other have little to do with any thing *ſpirituall* in this meaning: But [*ſpiritually*] it is *Sodom*, that is, this *great city Rome* is *Metaphorically Sodom*, 'tis *Sodom* by way of reſemblance; this is meant, when you have *Rome* called [ſpiritually *Sodom*.]

And that this is ſo, and there is a cleer reſemblance betwixt them, who ſo ſhall compare them each to other, will no longer make queſtion. For inſtance, *Sodom*, to which *Rome* is here reſembled (not to name other things) was the moſt filthy place

then in being in the world: we read the ſtory of that notorious
Gen. 19. wickedneſſe of theirs in that nineteenth of *Geneſis*. From which the ſinne of *Sodomy* taking its name, retains it to this day. And for the great City of *Rome* here mentioned; ſure for uncleanneſſe 'tis nothing at all behinde *Sodome*: For look upon her ſpirituall uncleanneſſes, and becauſe of theſe you have her called
Rev. 17. and 5. the *great Whore*, the *mother of Harlots and abominations of the earth*: ſhe being the parent of all abominable Idolatries whatſoever. And for carnall uncleanneſſe, let him ſpeak, who thus upon his knowledge reports her.

*Bapt. Mantus:*

*I pudor ad villas, ſi non patiantur eaſdem,*
*Et villæ vomicas: Roma eſt jam tota Lupanar.*

*Vid. Fran: Petrar. Epiſt. 20.* Who alſo taking his leave of *Rome*, thus be ſpeaks her.

*Roma vale: vidi, ſatis eſt vidiſſe, revertar,*
*Cum leno meretrix, ſcuſra Cynædus ero.*

But then for the ſinne of *Sodomy* it ſelf (the foundation of this reſemblance) is there any thing more common in this City then this moſt infamous wickedneſſe, that of the Epigramatiſt ſpeaks a great deal both of wit, and truth together.

*Roma quid eſt? Amor eſt, quem dat prepoſterus ordo,*
*Roma mares: noli dicere plura ſcio.*

*Brightman.* Can this ſinne be a ſtranger in that City, when *Jerome, Zeged, Mutius* does dare to write in the defence of this ſinne of *Sodomy*, and theſe writings of his, allowed by the Bull of Pope *Julius* the third? When alſo the *Archbiſhop of Beneventum*, becomes ſo loſt to all ſhame, as to make a Panegyrie in commendation of this moſt deteſtable wickedneſſe. But no more of this, leaſt I wrong modeſt ſpirits. In ſhort the uncleanneſſes of this place are not to be mentioned; of which (I ſay no more) if any *be ignorant, let him be ignorant ſtill*; for my part I had rather he ſhould be ſo, then by my inveighing againſt them, ſo to come to learn them. Sufficient I am ſure hath been diſcovered, to ſhew that *Rome* is *Sodome*, which was our purpoſe. Next we proceed to enquire, why tis called [*Egypt.*]

And doubtleſſe, the reſemblance holds as well in this, as in the

the former; as if we but take a view thereof, we ſhall eaſily diſcover. Obſerve therefore: *Egypt* was a place for *Idolatry*, none like it; none had *more gods* then they; and then their gods ſome of them, were *Cats, Crocodiles, Serpents, Oynions*, (as the Satyriſt ſcoffs at them) even the vileſt, and moſt abject creatures. And doth not the reſemblance every way anſwer. Have any people *more gods* then are to be found in the *Romiſh Egypt?* Can you come into any place of theirs, any Temple, any Oratory, where you do not finde every Wall, every Window, every corner thronged with them. And then to give divine honour to a *pair of ſhooes*, a *ſhirt*, a *pair of breeches*, with infinite ſuch kinde of Reliques (then which both their opinion, and practiſe ſpeaks nothing more common) is not this every way as bad as to worſhip a *Cat*, a *Crocodile*, or any other ſuch vile creature.

*Herodot. Juve: Satyr: 15.*

*Carthus: Alexand: Hal: Thomas Cajetan Bonavent. Bellar.*

But this is not all; As *Egypt* was an *Idolatrous* place, ſo was it to the people of God, a place of *cruelties*, it was to them the houſe of *Iron bondage*. However it was friendly at firſt, yet when *an other King aroſe that knew not Joſeph*: then did *Egypt* begin to ſhew it ſelf; then, leſt *Iſrael* ſhould overmuch encreaſe, they muſt be had to the *firy furnace*, if ſo be the toyl, and anguiſh hereof might leſſen, and conſume them; When this ſucceeds not, then all the *mal-children* muſt be deſtroyed as ſoon as born; that thus ſtopping the ſpring, the ſtream, within a while might wither, and be cut off alſo.

Deu 4. 20. Exod 1. 8. Verſ 11. and 14.

And hath not all this been done in the *Romiſh Egypt?* What ever fair quarter the Church at firſt found among them, it was not long before the *Dragon*, (a title formerly given to *Pharaoh*, but now entailed upon the Heathen Roman Emperours:) doth *ſtand before the Woman now in travell, ready to deſtroy the Mal-child ſo ſoon as ever it was born.* When this takes not, then are they brought unto the furnace, and however the people of God did multiply in their perſecutions, and their numbers encreaſed by thoſe very courſes they took to leſſen them, in like manner as did *Iſrael* before; yet was not the furnace of the *Romiſh Egypt*, leſſe ſcorching then of the *other*; nay rather, the furnace in this *Egypt*, is *heated ſeven times hotter* then ever that of the former. It could be no leſſe, when beſides all thoſe who were put to death in the tenne Primative perſecutions,

Iſai. 51. 9. Chap. 12. Verſ 1, 2, 3, 4. Verſ. 13. and 17. *Sanguis martyrum ſemen Eccleſiæ.*

at least ten hundred thousand of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* (as was hinted before) are after made away by the Antichristian Power. And since those bloody times to our dayes, no fewer destroyed by this *Egyptian* fiery furnace also. In the first thirty yeers after the Order of the Jesuites was brought forth, were slain of godly Christians neer ninety thousand: And the Inquisition it self, in the space of scarce thirty yeers, made away with no lesse then a hundred and fifty thousand: whereto if we should adde all the blood of Martyrs spilt in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, together with that Protestant blood now shed in *Ireland*, what would all this amount unto? but the former is sufficient for our purpose; and what hath been said abundantly shewing that *Rome* is to the people of God the *house of Bondage*: for which, together with its notorious *Idolatry*, 'tis not unelegantly by the holy Ghost stiled another *Egypt*.

*Baldwin de Antich. cap 6. Fra: Iunius & Tilenus ad Bell.*

*Rome* then for its *Idolatry*, and *Cruelty* apparently is *Egypt*; now next we enquire (which in the Text follows) why 'tis resembled to the place *where our Lord was crucified.*

*Ribera Apoc 11. num. 12. Bellar: lib 3. de Pap: Ro.*

The Jesuites, to the end they might deliver their *beloved Rome* from the foul and odious stains here asperst upon her, will needs turn all this over to *Jerusalem*, telling us *Jerusalem* is the place here described; for where (say they) was our Lord crucified, but onely at *Jerusalem*?

*Petr. Epist. 29.*

Of our own there are that carry it thus; As *Rome* before was for its *filthinesse Sodom*, as also *Egypt* for *Idolatry*, and *cruelty*; so now in her blasphemous Masse, for *crucifying Christ afresh every day*, and killing these Witnesse, as once indeed she did Christ himself, is therefore here call'd *Spiritually Jerusalem*: But if this please not, you may refer this clause to that which went before, I mean those words [*the street of the great city*] as if the Verse ran thus; *And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, where also our Lord was crucified.* According whereunto the meaning must be this; *Our Saviour was crucified in the street of the great city, where also lie dead the bodies of these Witnesses.*

*Object.* But some may say; Our Saviour was crucified in *Jerusalem*, how then in any *street of Rome*?

*Resol.* I answer in both; He was crucified at *Jerusalem*, That was the certain, *literall place* (as I may call it) where he was crucified;

cified: yet in regard he was not put to death by any *power the Jews had*, (for they acknowledge, *It was not lawfull for them, to put any man to death*) but by the *Roman power*, in regard *Pilate a Roman* Judge paſſes ſentence: And further, becauſe adjudged to dye a *Roman* death: And this in a place, at that time under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, within the *Roman* Territory; therefore with good congruitie, he is here ſaid to be crucified in the *ſtreet of Rome* alſo. In brief, our Saviour was crucified within the *Roman juriſdiction*: This (as we ſaw before) is [The ſtreet of the great City.] Joh. 18. 31

Gather up now the ſum of all the former into one, and the reſult of all, is clearly thus much. Theſe Witneſſes formerly ſlain in their office; and now continuing in that ſtate of civill death their ſlaughter brought them into, thus lie dead within the Dominion, and Territory of *Rome*; which *Rome* is for her *filthyneſſe* [*Sodome*] for her *Idolatry*, and *cruell perſecuting* of the people of God [*Egypt*;] which when *heathen* puts our Saviour to death, now *Antichriſtian* puts to death his Witneſſes. The words thus opened, the obſervations now follow.

1. Is the *ſtreet of the great City* the [*Roman Territory*:] then if the ſlaying of the Witneſſes ſhould be yet to come; as alſo to be accompliſhed in all the *Roman territory*; then only out of the *Roman* territory, can be exemption expected from this ſlaughter; onely in the further parts of the world, or ſome more priviledged place neerer home (if there be any ſuch) can any Witneſſes hope this killing ſhall not befall them?

2. Is *Rome* [*Sodome*]? Take notice then of that ſtrange blindneſſe, or rather perverſeneſſe of the Romiſh Crew: *Rome* is in their apprehenſion, and in their mouthes alſo [*Sancta Roma*, holy Rome;] notwithſtanding (there being no place ſo unholy) tis by the holy Ghoſt deſervedly called *Sodome*.

3. Is *Rome* become [*Sodome*?] Obſerve from hence, the ſad, yet proper puniſhment of Idolatry: *Rome* through her Idolatry, is by a juſt judgement, transformed into *Sodome*. Theſe by their Idolatrous imaginations depoſe the Lord into the *likeneſſe of themſelves*. God by a juſt puniſhment depoſes them into *worſe then very beaſts*. *For this cauſe God gives them over to vile affections.* Rom 1. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

*affections.* They entertain *unbecoming thoughts of God*, and God gives them to do things altogether *unbecoming themſelves.*

4. What a mercy was it to be delivered from *Rome*? What a mercy was it for *Lot* to be delivered out of *Sodom*? from ſo much filthineſſe, and from ſuch an unclean Generation, the be-
1 Pet. 2. 7. holding whereof could be no other to a gracious heart, then a continuall *vexation*?

5. If *Rome* from her *Idolatry* and *cruelty* is become another *Egypt*, How thankfull then ſhould we bear our ſelves for our deliverance from it? an Idolatrous place, as alſo a cruell; ſuch as would by the *former* deſtroy the ſoul; or if it could not that, then by the *latter* the body: ſhould not the deliverance from ſuch a place, be alwayes had in remembrance?

6. If *Rome* be *Egypt*; Ah cruell they that have formerly, and dayly do contend to bring a poor eſcaped people into *Egypt*
Deut. 23. 15. back again. *Iſrael* had a Law, That none ſhould bring again a ſervant, who becauſe of the harſh uſage of his Maſter, had got away from him: This was, and yet continues to be our caſe, and is among us the great quarrell at this day: Poor we, are ſcaped from *Egypt*, from *Rome*, being able to bear her harſh uſage no longer; and cruell hard-hearted they, by all endeavours poſſible will trie to bring us thither again.

7. Is *Rome* the place [where our Lord was crucified?] Oh the deſtruction and vengence that doth await *Rome*! when God ſhall recompence upon her the *blood of Prophets*, the *blood of*
Cha 18. 24 *Saints*, yea, the *blood of all that are ſlain upon the earth*, and after all this ſhall come to reckon with her for ſhedding the blood of his onely beloved Son, *for crucifying the Lord of glory* alſo, What a vengeance muſt all this be recompenſed withall!

---

VERS. 9.

*And they of the People, and Kinreds, and Tongues, and Nations, ſhall ſee their dead bodies three dayes and an half, and ſhall not ſuffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.*

WE have formerly ſeen theſe Witneſſes ſlain, by whom, as alſo where they lie dead; but now, when we ſhould attend them to their graves, we cannot, there's this hinders

(ſayes

(ſayes the Text) *Their dead bodies are not ſuffered to be put in graves.*

The enquiry of the meaning of this, is our preſent buſineſſe: In the endeavour whereof, for better order ſake, we ſhall obſerve:

1. What it is that's further done to theſe Witneſſes after they are ſlain; In theſe words [They are looked upon, and not ſuffered to be put in graves.]

2. The perſons that look upon them, and will not ſuffer them them to be put in graves, pointed at in theſe words, [*They of the People, and Kinreds, and Tongues, and Nations*] theſe look upon the dead Witneſſes, and will not ſuffer them to be put in graves.

3. How long this gaze of theirs laſts, and the Witneſſes thereupon kept unburied; which theſe words alſo give us knowledge of, 'Tis [*three dayes and an half.*] *They of the People and Kinreds, and Tongues, and Nations, ſhall ſee their dead bodies three dayes and a half, and ſhall not ſuffer them to be put in graves.*

In the foremoſt of theſe (which will perhaps take in the ſecond in the ſcanning) I muſt needs acknowledge there is a knot; which becauſe it ſeems to lay it ſelf open to two, different, and oppoſite meanings, and both very plauſible, renders the matter difficult whether to take of them.

The queſtion is, Whether this [looking upon theſe dead Witneſſes, and the not ſuffering them to be put in graves,] be done in favour, or diſ-favour of them; and accordingly as you incline in this queſtion either to the one ſide, or to the other, ſo will there a ſutable meaning offer it ſelf to you. To inſtance therefore; here's one interpretation the words ſeem to like of. The Beaſt, the Romiſh Antichriſt with his complices, having ſtopped the mouthes of all the Witneſſes, *thus ſlaying them*, and now further deviſing ſome way, that being thus ſlain, they may never riſe again, never witneſſe more againſt him, *thus trying to throw them into the Grave, to ſhut and ſeal the graves-mouth upon them*; in attempting hereof, is by the Reformed people (through the Miniſtry of the Witneſſes, by this time grown into great multitudes, and already provoked for the ſlaughter of theſe Witneſſes) reſolutely oppoſed; which Antichriſt perceiving, and fearing leſt upon further attempts they might become deſperate,

ſits down content onely to have thruſt theſe Witneſſes from their places, and ſtopt their mouths for preſent, not daring to make any further attempt at all againſt them. Thus they of the Kinreds, and Tongues, and People, and Nations, do hinder, that Antichriſt (who hath ſlain theſe Witneſſes) ſhould yet proceed ſo far as to throw them into graves; And to this interpretation theſe Conſiderations ſeem to give countenance:

1. It is not the *Inhabitants of the earth* (by which name the Popiſh faction are commonly known in this *Revelation*) who keep the Witneſſes from being buried; for then the matter had been put beſides all queſtion; but on the contrary, tis [They of the Kinreds, and Tongues, and People, and Nations] theſe will not ſuffer the Witneſſes to be put in graves; by which, who can be meant but the *Reformed people*? *Theſe* you have indeed brought in rejoycing, at the following Verſe, for the ſlaughter of the Witneſſes; *who*, had they been here meant alſo, probably not this ſo different, but the ſame expreſſion had ſerv'd to point at them in both places. Verſ. 10.

2. The Originall Text ſeems to contribute ſomething toward this Interpretation; where you reade, [Καὶ βλέψουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν] being all put *partitively*; As if the holy Ghoſt ſhould ſay; [And ſome of them of the Kinreds, and People, and Tongues, &c. ſome of finer mettle, choycer ſpirits] theſe ſhall not ſuffer the Witneſſes to be put in graves.

2. This is one Interpretation, and indeed in the generall plauſible, though (I muſt confeſſe) looking a little neerer, to ſee how particulars will hold, there ſeems ſome difficulty: For inſtance, ſtating the Reformed people *keep the Witneſſes from burying*; but what can be meant by *their looking on their dead bodies*? (ſo ſayes the Text) *They look upon their dead bodies three dayes and an half*; Is it any pleaſure for them to have their eyes ſo long upon their dead Witneſſes? *Abraham*, when his beloved *Sarah* was dead, then buyes a place to *bury his dead out of his ſight*: were it never ſo great delight to look on them while alive, ſure it can be none to look on them when dead. And then again, what can we underſtand by thoſe *graves*, which according to this Interpretation, the Reformed people are ſaid not to ſuffer theſe Witneſſes to be put into? ſhall we ſay this they mean, [they keep them from being killed indeed] but where finde we Gen. 23.4.

that

that [not ſuffering to be buried] ſhould mean, not [ſuffering to be killed] what analogie between theſe? And indeed 'tis a hard matter to aſſign any condition which holds reſemblance, or analogie with thoſe *graves*, which the Reformed people (according to this Interpretation) are ſaid to keep the dead Witneſſes from.

So you have the firſt meaning the words ſeem to allow of; The other is this:

The Romiſh Antichriſt with his party, having ſtopped the mouthes of theſe Witneſſes, thus ſlaying them, after this ſhall with ſcorn, and inſultation look upon their dead bodies: And if any ſhould come as *Joſeph of Arimathea*, to beg the body of one of theſe dead Witneſſes, or ſhould trie to hide or ſhelter theſe *Witneſſes*, as *Obadiah* did the *Prophets in the Cave*; no, they muſt not; ſuch is the ſavageneſſe of this Beaſt, with his complices, they forbid any to harbour, entertain or countenance theſe ſilenc'd Witneſſes, thus *not ſuffering their dead bodies to be put in graves.*

Joh. 13. 39

1 Kin. 18. 4 and 13.

And if this ſenſe ſhall paſſe, then have we a fair and obvious underſtanding of both thoſe particulars, which in the former we ſcarce knew what at all to make of. The former [They look upon them] according to this Interpretation, the meaning muſt be, [They look upon them in deriſion.] So they did upon our Saviour, when he was upon the Croſſe; *The people, With the Prieſts, beholding of him, derided him, Luk.* 23. 25. And is it not an uſuall thing, in this manner for them to be *looked upon*, who having been formidable before, are now brought down, and become at an under? Caſt your eye upon that 14 of *Iſa.* and 16, and you will thence eaſily know, what it is for any to be looked upon in the caſe above mentioned; Obſerve the words a little, [They that ſee thee, ſhall narrowly look upon thee] Mark you, Here's a *looking upon* the Babylonian Monarchs now fallen; well, and what ſay they? *Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did ſhake Kingdoms? Art thou alſo become weak as one of us?* See how they inſult over that fallen Monarchy.

Iſa. 14. 10. and 16.

And then for their [not ſuffering them to be put in graves] which was the other expreſſion, we knew not what to make of in the former Interpretation (ſtill retaining the analogie)

it hath this meaning, [They shall deny them shelter, hiding place, and the like] So that if any had a desire to entertain them into their houses, so to *bury* them within their private Walls, it must not be: The Beast will not allow so much honour done to these Witnesses, as to *suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.*

In both which, there seems an allusion to our Saviours case, just after he was crucified; whose dead body was indeed bestowed upon *Joseph of Arimathea*, when he came to beg it, but had it not been because the next day was *a high day* with the Jews, it had hung a longer space upon the Crosse, to be the object of the gaze, and scorn of all that should passe by. But these more cruell then the Jews, at least not fearing their *Festivall*, (mentioned in the Verse following) should be prophaned by the bodies of the Witnesses lying unburied in the street, will not at any hand suffer them to be put in graves; but there they must lie to be looked upon, the scorn and derision of all; as our Saviours had been also, had not the solemnity of the day following prevented.

Joh. 19 31.

Vers. 10.

And now to render this Interpretation more likely, take these Considerations:

1. To deny the dead buriall, sounds alwayes a dis-favour; a great dis-favour from him that doth deny it; a great indignity to him to whom it is denyed: was it no indignity to *Jehoiakim*, that he is threatned to be *buried with the buriall of an Asse?* He should have no buriall at all, or none worth having? As also to the Babylonian Monarchs, That they should be *cast out of their graves, as an abominable branch?* Would this be no indignity, no dis-favour to them?

Jer 22. 19.

Isa. 14. 19.

2. That which appears the main support of the other Interpretation (namely, because 'tis not *the inhabitants of the earth are said to keep them from their graves*, but *The Kinreds, and People, and Tongues, and Nations*; implying thereby, That not the Popish Party do it, but some other) will not hold; both (notwithstanding the different expression) seeming indeed to mean the same persons. They do so at the 13 Chap. of this Prophesie, the 7 & 8 V. In the former whereof, I mean the 7. you find the *Beast hath power given him, over all Kinreds, and Tongues, & People, and Nations*: In the latter, *All that dwell upon the earth worship him.* Here they are all one: But now if any man should question whether

ther that power over Kinreds, and Tongues, and People, and Nations, do not mean a power by perſecuting, to over-maſter, and ſo implying no voluntary ſubjection of theſe, as of the other: the 17 Chap. and 15 verſe puts this out of queſtion, where you find, The *waters* which the woman ſits upon, that is, which ſubject themſelves to her, *are people, & kinreds, & tongues, & nations.* Chap. 17. 15.

3. Theſe ſame who look upon the dead Witneſſes in this ver. appear the ſame with thoſe, *on whom great fear falls*, when they ſee them ſtand upon their feet, and ſo riſe again at the 11 verſ. They do ſo; for who could they be in likelihood, that ſee them after the three daies and a half ſtanding upon their feet, but thoſe who during the ſpace of three dayes and an half look'd upon them? And by the ſame argument, are they not the ſame with thoſe who at the 12 verſe (beholding theſe Witneſſes aſcenſion) are there expreſſely called *their enemies*? for who in likelyhood ſees theſe Witneſſes after three dayes and an half aſcending, but thoſe who all the while before look'd upon them? yea I ſhould offer it, Whether the Nations that look upon theſe Witneſſes *here*, and *thoſe* which at 2 ver. *tread under foot the holy City*, be not all one: The ſame original word [Εθνη] expreſſes both; and if theſe *Nations* here be but the ſame with thoſe who *tread under foot the holy City*, we need no further queſtion whether friends or foes keep them unburied, or whether this be done in favour, or diſ-favour of the Witneſſes: To all which this ſeems to adde ſome confirmation, That therefore it appears they will not ſuffer them to be put in graves, that they might glut their eyes with looking upon them; So the Text, *They look upon them, and will not ſuffer them to be put in graves*, as though they could never have their fill of ſuch a pleaſing ſpectacle as is the dead Witneſſes. Verſe 2.

You have now both the Interpretations. The one underſtanding this [looking upon the Witneſſes, and not ſuffering them to be put in graves] done in favour to them, the other diſ-favour: neither of them unlikely, and therefore I ſhall leave every one, after the reaſons on both ſides well weighed, to take which himſelf beſt pleaſes; though for my own part I muſt confeſſe I rather encline to this latter, 'Tis done in diſ-favour.

And now you ſee this large handling of the firſt thing mentioned; namely, [the looking upon the Witneſſes, and not ſuffering them to be put in graves] hath (according to our former intima-

intimation) prevented a large enquiry in the ſecond; I mean [the perſons looking upon the Witneſſes, and not ſuffering them to be buried] and ſo will not hold us long off from that [ſpace of time wherein theſe Witneſſes being looked at, are not ſuffered to be buried] which was the laſt thing in theſe words to be enquired concerning.

For if ſo be theſe Witneſſes are kept out of their graves in favour to them, according as the former meaning would have it, then [they of the Kinreds, and Tongues, and Nations] muſt needs be the *Reformed people*; but if this be done in diſ-favour, as the ſecond Interpretation carries it, then muſt [they of the Kinreds and People, and Tongues and Nations] without all controverſie mean the *Popiſh Party*.

Unleſſe we ſay ſome kinde of *middle people* may poſſibly be underſtood (ſomewhat differing from the *Inhabitants of the earth*, the through Papiſts) who formerly having ſhewed themſelves friends, and yeelding ſome ſhelter to theſe Witneſſes from the ſtorms that had before droven them from their own places; yet now ſeeing the great power of Antichriſt, fall in with him as the ſtronger, now no longer affording any ſhelter, any hiding-place to theſe Witneſſes. Which of theſe [the Kinreds, and People, and Nations] mean, I ſhall no further determine, but from it, paſſe on to enquire, how long the Witneſſes are lookt upon, and kept unburied, by the People, and Tongues, and Nations, which (ſayes the Text) is *Three dayes and an half*; the laſt thing we were to enquire after, and comes now to be handled.

*Paraus Com. Apo.*

Concerning which *three dayes and an half*, I ſhall not ſay as ſome do, it ſignifies ſome very ſhort time, yet not at all limited, or determinate; I ſhall not ſay ſo: for, being that it is a broken number [three dayes and an half] as broken numbers uſe to do, it muſt needs ſignifie a time determinate.

*Deut. Exp.*

Nor further can this ſignifie the ſame ſpace with the Witneſſes Propheſie (which yet ſome imagine) for that of the Witneſſes Propheſie, is *three yeers and an half*; this, of their lying unburied, but *three dayes and an half*: Beſides, this *ſpace of the three dayes and an half*, doth then begin, when the term of the *three yeers and an half* is about to determine. For when the Witneſſes have continued their propheſie almoſt *three yeers and an half*, and

and are now drawing toward an end, then are they ſlain ; and after ſlain, they *lie unburied three dayes and an half* ; ſo that this cannot be the ſame ſpace with the term of the Witneſſes Propheſie.

Once more ; Not ſeems it to be underſtood in the *letter, viz.* for *three dayes and an half* properly, and in ſtrictneſſe ſo taken, it being hard to conceive, that all that which is mentioned to be done, during this ſpace, ſhould in ſo ſhort a time as three *dayes and an half* be poſſibly accompliſhed. Is it poſſible that tydings of the ſlaughter of theſe Witneſſes ſhould be carryed from one people to an other, in the ſpace of three dayes and an half ; ſo that in that ſpace alſo, they might congratulate with one another for this ſo happy turn of the Witneſſes ſlaughter ? Or is the ſpace of half a day perceiveable, in a time of ſuch publike and univerſall ſolemnity, as that is, when the Witneſſes are killed ? Which if ſo, If this three dayes and an half be not an *indeterminate* time (as we ſaw before ;) nor yet the *ſame with the* 1260 *dayes*, the terme of the Witneſſes Propheſie : nor yet *three dayes and an half in the letter* (as we ſaw juſt now) what can it mean, but *three dayes and an half prophetical*, that is, *three yeers and an half* ? Thus long is the ſpace while the Witneſſes lie unburied. So we underſtood the *three yeers and an half* of the Witneſſes Propheſie before ; which reſolving into one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes, and then accounting a day, for a yeer (as is the manner of the Prophets ſometime to reckon) the whole came to one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeers ; So theſe [three dayes and an half] take them (as ſometimes the Prophets do, and as we reckoned the former) and they make *three yeers and an half alſo*. *Ribera.*

The meaning of this Verſe, and all the ſeveralls thereof, being thus at large opened ; I ſhall not for this once, draw up the ſumme of all offering it to one view, ſo (as hath been my former manner) but ſtudious of brevity, ſhall forthwith proceed to the obſervations, which are theſe.

1. From the former Interpretation ; Do the reformed people keep the Witneſſes from being thrown in to graves ? Then if this ſhould not be paſt, here is a leſſon for the reformed people, here's this hint for them ; Though they may ſuffer Anti-

chriſt

chriſt to ſlay their Witneſſes; yet when he goes about to throw them into the grave, to the end they might never riſe again, then does it behove the reformed people, with all their united ſtrength, reſolvedly to oppoſe it.

Let the reformed people remember this, now they are told of it, if ſuch a thing were yet to be accompliſhed. That they do their parts, and not ſuffer Antichriſt, after he hath ſlain their Witneſſes, to the end they might never riſe again, to throw them into the grave alſo.

2. From the latter. 1. Do the Popiſh party look upon the dead Witneſſes, and will not ſuffer them to be buried, that they might ſtill delight themſelves in the beholding of them? Oh the infinite ſpleen the Popiſh party do bear againſt the Lords Witneſſes! Is it not ſufficient, they have ſlain them, but they muſt have their dead bodies lye before them, to ſcorn and mock at? Is it not ſufficient, *the Philiſtimes have put out Sampſons eyes,* but they muſt ſend for him in this condition, *to make them ſport alſo?* Take notice of the immortall hate theſe bear againſt Gods Witneſſes, which doth not determine with their death; For after this, they muſt have their dead bodies to make maygames of.

Jud. 16. 21. and 25.

3. Obſerve the ſalvageneſſe of Antichriſt and his crew, who will not ſuffer the dead Witneſſes to have the honour of buriall: When they have ſtopped the Witneſſes mouths, and ſo ſlain them, they cannot bear it, that any ſhall take a ſilenced Witneſſe into houſe, give him ſhelter, entertainment: Hence ſuch ſearch, ſuch enquiry made after theſe proſcribed Witneſſes heretofore, and ſhould this not be accompliſhed, it will be greater yet then ever, the Antichriſtian party will not ſuffer the dead Witneſſes to be put in graves.

4. Does this unburied ſtate of theſe Witneſſes laſt but three dayes and an half, three yeers and an half, here's ſome comfort, Though this time when ever it is, may be troubleſome; yet 'tis not like to laſt long. How long ſoever they be a ſlaying, when once ſlain, they lie dead but three yeers an half, no longer are they left to be the ſcorn of the Popiſh brood; no longer are the people of God deprived of them.

*Omnia adverſa, quantumvis magna, tolerabilia ſunt ſi ſint brevia. Cic. in 1 el.*

VERS.

VERS. 10.

*And they that dwell upon the earth ſhall rejoyce over them, and make merry, and ſend gifts one to another, becauſe theſe two Prophets tormented them that dwelt upon the Earth.*

IT now follows we ſee what is done the while theſe Witneſſes lye dead, gazed upon, and uninterred in the ſtreet of the great City. In theſe words, *And they that dwell upon the earth, ſhall rejoyce and make merry, and ſend preſents one to another, becauſe theſe two Prophets tormented, &c.*

In opining whereof, we ſhall obſerve ſuch like method as in the former enquiring.

1. *What it is that's done*, the while the Witneſſes lye ſlain, and unburied, laid down in theſe words, [They rejoyce, and make merry, and ſend preſents.]

2. The *perſons* thus rejoycing, and making merry, And they are ſtiled [The Inhabitants of the earth, They that dwell upon the earth.]

3. The ground why they that dwell upon the earth are thus over joyed; In theſe words, [Tis over theſe two Prophets, becauſe they tormented them that dwell upon the earth.] Of theſe briefly in this order.

In opening the former, whereof I mean [The rejoycing, and making merry, &c.] here mentioned, I ſhall for this purpoſe referre to two, or three Scriptures; which taken notice of, will contribute abundant light in this matter.

The firſt of theſe I referre to, is that ninth of *Heſter*: where, the Jews having got the day of their enemies, and procured *Haman* hanged, who in chief contrived, and endeavoured their ruine, for ſo great a deliverance, they ſet apart dayes of ſolemn feaſting, and in them, *They rejoyce, and make merry, and ſend portions one to another.* Heſt. 9. 19, 18

So likewiſe in that fifteenth of *Luke*, When *the Prodigall comes home*, ſo glad is the tender father, he hath received his ſonne ſafe again, that for joy, he ſends, and kills the fatted Calf, and *they rejoyce, and make merry alſo.* Luk. 15. 24.

And in the eight of *Nehemiah*, and the twelfth verſe. The manner of keeping a ſolemne feaſtivall, is thus deſcribed, *The people went home every one to eat the fat, and to drink the ſweet, and to ſend portions one to another, and to make great mirth.*

From all which we gather, this much ſeems meant by the *rejoycing, and making merry*, here mentioned: The Inhabitants of the earth ſhall ſo reſent there killing of, and conqueſt over theſe Witneſſes, that they ſhall as greatly, and ſolemnly rejoyce, as thoſe, who for ſome great deliverance, or elſe ſome eminent good thing befalling, were wont to ſet a part, and celebrate a
Neh.8.12. Feaſtivall, wherein their menner was (as we heard before.) *To eat, and drink, and make merry, and ſend preſents one to another.*

This is the meaning. And here obſerve it, I ſtick not for the exact performance of all this in the Letter: Namely that indeed, And in the letter they ſhould here ſend preſents one to another (a cuſtome among them of Elder times in their ſolemn rejoycings, now antiquated,) but this they ſhall do; They ſhall as greatly rejoyce, now they are rid of theſe Witneſſes, as they in their ſolemn feaſtivals did, whoſe way of expreſſing their joy, was by *making merry, and ſending preſents one to another.*

We have now the meaning of the firſt thing, *viz.* The *rejoycing, and making merry*, here mentioned; next follows, the *perſons that rejoyce*, and they are [The Inhabitants of the earth, They that dwell upon the earth.] Theſe are they, that *rejoyce, and make merry.* And whom can we underſtand by theſe, but the Popiſh Antichriſtian party? So we find them expreſſed, and pointed at, in the thirteenth Chapter of this Propheſie, and the eight verſe. Likewiſe at the ſeventeenth Chapter, and the fifth verſe, beſides many more places: yea ſo commonly doth the *earth* ſignifie the Antichriſtian Church, and the *Inhabitants of the earth*, the Popiſh Antichriſtian faction, that all this propheſie over, they are almoſt termes convertible. The *Inhabitants of the earth*, are the Antichriſtian faction; and the Antichriſtian faction, are the Inhabitants of the earth. And when
Rev.13.6. the members of the true Church are uſually in this *Revelation*
Revel.18. 20. ſtiled [Thoſe that dwell in Heaven] which they are, how appoſitely are the members of the Antichriſtian Church, their oppoſites ſtiled [Thoſe that dwell upon the earth.]

And

And indeed, who elſe can be imagined to rejoyce at the ſuppreſſing, and killing of theſe Witneſſes, but ſuch as theſe? Who were tormented by the Witneſſes, but they? So the Text, *The two Prophets tormented them, who dwelt upon the earth.* And then who can theſe poſſible be, but the Popiſh faction; who becauſe tormented by theſe Witneſſes, help the beaſt to ſlay them, and now having ſlain them, do out of meaſure rejoyce, they are thus got rid of them?

It is evident then the *Inhabitants of the earth*, are the Popiſh party: So we have diſpatched the ſecond thing, [The perſons that do rejoyce, and make merry;] Now follows the third, [The reaſon why the Popiſh party do rejoyce:] thus expreſſed, *They rejoyce over the Witneſſes, becauſe they tormented them that dwell upon the earth.*

And here we muſt not miſtake, as though the reaſon lay thus, *They rejoyce, becauſe the two Witneſſes tormented them*; as the words at the firſt face, ſeem to carry it: for doubtleſſe, 'tis ſmall joy to them to be tormented. But thus rather, *They rejoyce over them, becauſe theſe two Witneſſes tormented them*, meaning, That becauſe theſe two Witneſſes tormented them, when alive; therefore do they thus inſult and triumph over them now, they are dead: or elſe thus; They rejoyce, becauſe avenged, as alſo got rid of theſe Witneſſes, and the reaſon why they rejoyce for this (as they conceive) ſo happy riddance, is, becauſe theſe two Witneſſes, while they were alive, grievouſly tormented them. This is then in ſhort the meaning, The Popiſh faction rejoyce, becauſe got ſhut of theſe Witneſſes, fearing now no more to be tormented by them.

But before we paſſe hence, ſome may perhaps move ſuch a queſtion as this? How are theſe two Witneſſes ſaid to torment them that dwell upon the earth? *Queſt.*

To which I anſwer, Were it nothing elſe but the Miniſtry of theſe Witneſſes, this is torment greater then the Popiſh party poſſibly can endure; and ſhould we conclude upon it, and ſay, this is that rack that doth torment them, the word [Βασανίσαι] expreſſing here the torment, would not at all oppoſe: For in other Scriptures 'tis uſed to ſignifie *inward torment, torment of conſcience*, and would as well ſignifie the ſame here alſo. *Reaſ.* Chap. 14. 10, 11.

But we ſaw the Witneſſes at the ſixth verſe of this Chapter,

*Turning waters into bloud, and ſmiting the earth with all plagues,* by which is meant [The powring out of the Vials] as was then ſhewed. This indeed is the [Tormenting the Inhabitants of the earth] here mentioned. And ſure if it be either conſidered, *what is in thoſe* Vials, which is powred forth, or their *behaviour*, on whom they are powred; with all, remembring what hath been diſcovered in this matter before. It will be undoubtedly concluded, The pouring forth of the Vials, is, *The tormenting of the Inhabitants of the earth*, here intended. For example. Obſerve, Cha 16.1. What it is theſe Vials are full of, and at the 16 Chapter and ſeventh verſe, you finde them brim full *with the wrath of God.* All which being poured forth *upon the earth*, (verſe firſt, of that 16 Chap.) can it be, but this ſhould *torment them that dwell upon the earth.* Again, Look upon the *behaviour* of them that dwell upon the earth, now there Vials are a pouring forth: and ſeverall Chap. 16. ver. 9. and 11. times in that 16 Cha. you find, that when a Viall is pouring out, they *gnaw their tongues for pain, and blaſpheme the God of heaven.* The Witneſſes pouring forth the Vials] is then the [tormenting of the Inhabitants of the earth] here mentioned.

But before I wholly leave this ſame, give me leave by the way, to obſerve ſomething from the word here uſed. It is not [ἀδικῶν to wrong,] but tis [βασανίζω to inflict a juſt torment:] when the Popiſh party medles with the Witneſſe, then [ἀδικῶν] expreſſes it, as at the fifth verſe, they do the Witneſſes wrong; but when the Witneſſes plague them, then tis [βασανίζω] they inflict upon them a juſt torment; and accordingly when they come to deſtroy *Babylon* (for theſe very Witneſſes do deſtroy Cha. 18. 7. ὅσα ἐν δόξασεν αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον δότε αὐτῇ βασανισμόν. her) there you have the ſame word alſo. *How much ſhe hath glorified her ſelf, ſo much juſt torment give her:* Shewing, that what they do to theſe Witneſſes, is *wrong*; what the Witneſſes do to them, even when they come to deſtroy them, is but *juſt puniſhment.*

But to let this paſſe, all the parts of this verſe being now opened, put all together, and it comes to thus much. The Popiſh party being grievouſly tormented by the Witneſſes pouring forth the Vials upon them, in revenge hereof, they ſlay the Witneſſes, and having ſlain them, do out of meaſure rejoyce, they are thus got rid of them. Thus you have at once the ſum of the verſe; from which, next follow theſe few obſervations.

1. Are the dwellers on the earth the Popiſh crue? From hence

hence then learn the *Character* of the Popiſh Antichriſtian party, They are a *generation that dwell upon the earth, an earthly generation:* So ſometime the Prelaticall faction their neer kinred have been deſcribed: *viz. A generation of the earth, earthly, and that ſavour not the things of God.* And certainly not without cauſe are the Popiſh party thus decifered, Their Religion is of the *earth*, their Ordinances are *earthly* Ordinances, thence all came; and when they have all holpen thoſe poor Papiſts that uſe them, what they can, will not carry them *above that earth*, from whence they came. *Baines Dio. Try. Priſ:*

2. Do the Antichriſtian brood *rejoyce* at the ſlaughter of the Witneſſes? Oh the deſperate height of wickedneſſe theſe unhappy wretches arive to. The Lord doth ſend his Witneſſes, choice Inſtruments to convince theſe of their Idolatry, uncleanneſſe, prophaneneſſe, and if it might be to bring them to repentance: but they, are ſo farre from being convinced, ſo farre from being wonne unto repentance, that inſteed hereof they ſlay the Witneſſes; and when they have this done (wonder of impiety) as if they had done ſome moſt praiſe-worthy thing, they rejoyce at it. Oh the deſperate hardneſſe thats come upon the Antichriſtian faction!

3. Do the Witneſſes *torment* the Popiſh party? You ſee then they do not ſo carry their hard uſuage of theſe Witneſſes, that they themſelves ſcape unmet withall: If they make the Witneſſes propheſie in Sackcloth, the *Witneſſes* torment them as much by pouring upon them the Vials. And ſure by that time all caſts are plaid, The Popiſh party will have no great cauſe to boaſt of their winnings: by that time theſe *Witneſſes* have *rewarded Babylon, as ſhe hath rewarded them, and in the cup wherein ſhe hath filled, have filled to her double*, (which is their Commiſſion) which alſo I could earneſtly deſire, were more looked upon, and conſidered, (for who knows but ſome of us, that now live may be called forth to execute this Commiſſion) I ſay again, by that time the Reformed Churches have ſlain her *Prieſts*, as ſhe hath ſlain *their Witneſſes*, and daſh'd her *bratts againſt the ſtones*, as ſhe hath done their little ones: yea, *and rewarded her double for all the wrongs*, and violence done unto them, then will the Antichriſtian faction be enforced to acknowledge they were ſufficiently matcht, when they medled with theſe *Witneſſes*. Rev. 18. 6. Pſal 137. 8, 9. Rev. 18. 6.

VERS. 11.

*And after three dayes and an half, the Spirit of Life from God entred into them, and they ſtood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which ſaw them.*

IN the words laſt handled, we ſaw how joy'd the Popiſh crew were at the ſlaughter of the Witneſſes, thinking they had made ſuch a hand of them, as that they ſhould never hear of them any more: But now (which quaſhes all their mirth, and makes them every whit as ſad as did the ſlaying of theſe Witneſſes rejoyce them before) Behold, *After three dayes and an half, the Spirit of Life enters into the Witneſſes, and they ſtand upon their feet.*

In which words, you have obſervable;

1. The witneſſes *Reſurrection*: [*The Spirit of life from God enters into them, and they ſtand upon their feet.*]

2. The *time of their Reſurrection*; 'Tis [*after three dayes and an half.*

3. The *Conſequent* hereof; [*Great fear fell on them that ſaw them.*

Of theſe I ſhall ſpeak in this order, and thereof briefly alſo, as of the former, beginning with their Reſurrection firſt, in theſe words [*The Spirit of life from God entred into them, and they ſtood upon their feet.*

Πνεῦμα ζωῆς. Heb. רוח חיים Arab. רוח מן אלله

The Spirit of life] that which the Hebrews call [breath of life] this enters into them.

*And they ſtand upon their feet:*] After this *Spirit of life*, or *Breath of life*, or as the *Arabique* renders it [*Spirit from God*] enters into them, they ſtand upon their feet; that is, They riſe up again into their former employment: A poſture quite different from what we ere while ſaw them in, when they lay dead in the ſtreet, not able to move hand or foot, for the ſpace of three yeers and a half together. But now after that God hath by ſome extraordinary hand of his, reſtored them from their ſuſpenſions and ſileneings, and ſo life put into them, then they ſtand upon their feet, as ready now anew to witneſſe againſt Antichriſt, as ever they were before. So thoſe *dry bones*, *Ezek.* 37, (which alſo ſeem plainly here alluded to) after thet ſinews and

Ezek. 37. 10.

flesh

fleſh had covered them, (at the tenth verſe,) *Breath enters into them, and they ſtand upon their feet.*

And this perhaps will tell us what kinde of Reſurrection is this of theſe Witneſſes : For mark it, then is all this fulfilled ; I mean, the dry bones have ſinews and fleſh, and after breathed upon, do live, and ſtand upon their feet.] When *Iſrael* in captivity, without hope, or likelyhood of ever being delivered (in which condition they are the dry bones) are yet by the hand of God brought out of that hopeleſſe Captivity ; This is the living and riſing again of the dry bones there mentioned. According whereunto, when theſe Witneſſes, formerly ſlain their office, thrown out thence, are by the ſpeciall hand of God reſtored thereto again ; what hinders but we ſay, This is *the Spirit of life from God entring into the Witneſſes, and their ſtanding upon their feet.*

A Reſurrection properly ſo called it cannot be ; for of none ſuch do we reade, till the 20 Chapter of this Propheſie (as was intimated before) and if not a Reſurrection reall, and proper, what can it be, but ſome ſpeciall hand of God, in reſtoring theſe Witneſſes to place, opening their mouthes which were ſtopped by their former ſlaughter ? This appears the Reſurrection of the Witneſſes here intended. Cha. 20. 5.

Which if ſo, we need not then that ſhift which ſome make uſe of, telling us theſe Witneſſes riſe again in their ſucceſſors, making this [the Reſurrection of the Witneſſes] here mentioned : For if their riſing again, mean their reſtoring to their place of Witneſſes, as we ſaw before, then nothing hinders but the ſame that were ſlain may alſo riſe again : nothing hinders, but the ſame which had their mouthes ſhut (which was their ſlaying) may have their mouthes again open, which is their Reſurrection, I am ſure the ſpace wherein they lie dead hinders not : Had that indeed been long, threeſcore or fourſcore yeers, then perhaps I ſhould have ſought it in their ſucceſſors ; but when betwixt the laſt Witneſſe that is ſlain, and the firſt that riſes again, there intervenes but the ſpace of three yeers and an half, 'tis no very hard thing to believe, That ſome who three yeers and an half ſince were ſilenced, and ſuſpended, after that ſpace, have now their mouthes open.

And doubtleſſe it muſt be ſo, for mark it, The dead bodies of thoſe

thoſe that were ſlain, thoſe ſame dead bodies that lay in the ſtreet, were looked upon three dayes and an half, and not ſuffered to be put in graves, into theſe ſame (ſayes the Text) the *Spirit of life from God enters, and they ſtand upon their feet.*

And I would fain know, what ſucceſſors could be nouriſhed to riſe up in the room of theſe Witneſſes after this time; for either they are Witneſſes themſelves, at what time theſe are ſlain, and then they are ſlain alſo (for then are all the bold oppoſers of, and Witneſſes againſt Antichriſt, ſlain) or elſe then they were not Witneſſes, and then think what a time this three yeers and a half was to hatch up a brood of young Witneſſes in, when now all the other being ſlain, they are hereby deprived of all means of publike inſtruction.

But ſufficient of this *firſt thing*, I mean *the riſing again of the Witneſſes*; now follows the ſecond, *the time when they riſe again*; [After three dayes and an half, that is, after three yeers and an half] which becauſe it hath already in the foregoing words been handled, I ſhall paſſe from it to the *third thing*, *viz.* [The conſequent of this Reſurrection] in theſe words; *Great fear fell upon them which ſaw them.*

They that behold theſe *Witneſſes* riſing again, are afraid: Some like thing is mentioned of them that were preſent at our Saviours Reſurrection. And indeed it is a common thing, when ſome eminent thing is done, for the lookers on to be ſtricken with fear at the beholding. When *Ananias* and *Saphira* fall dead at the Apoſtles feet, then does great fear fall upon the people, the witneſſes of it. And when the *Exorciſts Jews* taking upon them to adjure the evill Spirit to come forth, are by the man that had the evill ſpirit overcome, eſcaping from him naked and wounded, then great fear falls upon the people alſo.

Matth. 28.

Act 5. 3. & 11.

Act. 19. 16, 17.

But you will not blame the beholders here to be afraid at the riſing again of theſe *Witneſſes*: For if theſe be the Popiſh party as was conceived they well might be; did they ever dream they ſhould ſee the *Witneſſes* riſe again; did not they think they had made ſuch ſure work, as that they ſhould never have been troubled with them any more; but now after they had ſlain them, that beſides all expectation they ſhould riſe again, and this perhaps to torment them worſe then ever they did before, can you blame them they are afraid at it?

We

We have now examined all the ſeveralls of this verſe, all which drawn together, are thus much in the reſult; The *Witneſſes* being ſilenced, thruſt from their places, thus ſlain, after three yeers and an half are by a ſpeciall hand of God reſtored to liberty and office again; at which the Antichriſtian faction become greatly afraid, not having the leaſt thought, after they had once ſlain the *Witneſſes*, they ſhould ever have been troubled, or tormented with them any more.

Having thus opened the words, there are but two Collections I ſhall make from them, and then paſse on to what followes.

1. Do the *Witneſſes*; after three dayes and an half *riſe again?* ſure then this buſineſse of the ſlaying of the *Witneſſes* cannote b a matter of ſo much diſcouragement, as we uſually conceive ſo it; as alſo, neither ſhould we take on for the ſlaying of the *Witneſſes, as men without hope*; for but a little while, and the *Witneſſes* riſe again. Nay, neither ſhould this ſlaughter ſo much afflict the *Witneſſes* themſelves, who even then, when it is a doing, may bid the Popiſh faction hold their countenance, forbear rejoycing, for *though they fall, they ſhall yet within a little time aſſuredly riſe again*: Theſe lights may be by Antichriſt ſuppreſsed for a time, but afterward they break forth in greater luſtre and brightnes then ever they did before. 1 Theſſ. 4. 14. Mich. 7. 8.

2. Do the Popiſh faction become *greatly afraid*, upon the Reſurrection of the *Witneſſes*? then obſerve it, the *riſing* of the *Witneſſes*, is the *fall of the Spirits*, of the Popiſh party: When the *Witneſſes* fell before, then they rejoyce, and make merry, cannot contain themſelves; but now they riſe, their hearts fall every whit as faſt within them, juſt like the Scales of the Ballance, if one riſe, the other falls, ſo inconſiſtent is the proſperous condition of the one, with the content and ſatisfaction of the other.

VERS. 12.

*And they heard a great voyce from heaven, ſaying unto them, Come up hither, and they aſcended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.*

WE have done with the Reſurrection of the Witneſſes, in the words laſt handled; now follows their *Aſcenſion to heaven*, in theſe words; *And they heard a great voyce from heaven, ſaying, Come up hither, &c.*

In which for method ſake I ſhall obſerve;

1. A *voyce* calling Witneſſes up to heaven; in theſe words; *They heard a voyce from heaven, ſaying to them, Come up hither.*
2. Their *Aſcenſion* thereupon; *They aſcended.*
3. The *manner* of this Aſcenſion; It is *in a cloud.*
4. The *Adjuncts*, or *Concomitants* of this Aſcenſion, firſt, [Their enemies behold them] mentioned in this Verſe. 2. [A great Earthquake at the ſame time] mentioned in the words next following.

Of theſe ſeverally in this order: But before I come to ſpeak to every of them in particular, give me leave to premiſe this much in the generall concerning all of them, (and it is nothing elſe, but what hath ſeverall times, for the ſubſtance, been already inculcated) *viz.*

This Aſcenſion, and ſo the ſeveralls thereto appertaining, are not to be underſtood in the letter, as though the Witneſſes after their Reſurrection, ſhould now indeed, and in the letter aſcend up to heaven; by no means, it ſeems at no hand to be imagined.

But (as we ſhewed) their death was a myſticall death, their Reſurrection a myſticall Reſurrection; ſo now in like manner we ſay their Aſcenſion muſt be a myſticall Aſcenſion alſo. How can we conceive their death a myſticall death, a killing in office onely; their Reſurrection, a riſing again into office; and now conceive their aſcending up to heaven, a reall and proper Aſcenſion? Not but that theſe Witneſſes are at laſt glorified in heaven, but ſo much is not expreſſed by their aſcending up to heaven here mentioned. This here is a myſticall Aſcenſion, and ſo accordingly of the ſeverall above mentioned, [*The great*

*voyce,*

*voyce, the heaven, the cloud,*] we are to enquire a myſticall Interpretation.

This premiſed, We now proceed to take the ſeveralls in their order: Firſt, [The voyce from heaven calling them up thither.] *And they heard a voyce from heaven, ſaying to them, come up hither.*

Some read theſe words thus. [And I heard a voyce from heaven,] ſo the *Arabique* among others, but better me thinks as we read it, [And they heard a voyce,] the Witneſſes now after they were riſen from the dead, *they* heard a voyce from heaven. *Arab:* שמעה *Audiit.*

But what voice is it then theſe Witneſſes hear, calling them up to heaven. I anſwer, If it muſt be a myſticall voyce (as we ſaid before) what more likely thing can it be, then ſome *Act*, ſome *Decree* of them in high place, calling theſe Witneſſes into ſome more free, and honourable condition, oppoſite to that of Sackcloth, wherein the Antichriſtian faction made them propheſie before.

I ſay again, Some *Act* or *Decree*, this ſeems to be the voyce.] And then ſuch as are in authority, appertaining to the Reformed Churches, which are often ſo expreſſed, ſeem to be the [Heaven,] from whence this great voyce comes. And that this voyce bidding them aſcend up thither, may very well betoken an invitation to ſome more ample and honourable condition, let but this be conſidered, *viz.* That when theſe Witneſſes roſe up again, they roſe up into their propheticall office, by vertue of their reſurrection, they had a liberty to Propheſie again: and then after this, To be called up to Heaven, what can it be, but ſome more *liberall condition* offered to them, then that wherein they witneſſed againſt Antichriſt before? So that by this reckoning, by their *Reſurrection* they gain their mouths open to *Propheſie again*, by their *Aſcenſion* they gain it be not in *Sackcloth.*

Their *Aſcenſion it ſelf*, next follows, [They aſcended up to Heaven.] And what can this mean, anſwerable to the former, but this, *viz.* They had that honour put upon them, which by the voyce from Heaven they were called to? They have now their Sackcloth taken from them, neither themſelves, nor their Miniſtry, either to be ſo contemned, or perſecuted as before.

Their maintenance poſſibly advanced to ſome honeſt, and competent allowance; which becauſe ſo exceeding ſmall before, might be one reaſon, why 'tis ſaid they Propheſied in Sackcloth. In ſumme, what you can conceive, is properly oppoſite to Sackcloth, as cleering them in the eye of the world, maintenance, eſteem, and the like, *This is the Witneſſes aſcending up to heaven.*

And ſo ſometime [*Aſcending up to heaven*] ſignifies: I mean a greater acceſſion of honour, and dignity. As when *Nebucadnezzar* is brought in thus vaunting, *I will aſcend up to heaven,* Iſ. 14 13, 14. *I will exalt my ſelf above the clouds,* Tis all one, as if he had ſaid; I will yet be greater, I will yet make my ſelf a greater name then I have ever gained hitherto.

Thus we have ſeen their aſcention, the manner of their aſcention next follows, and tis [*In a cloud*] *they aſcend up to heaven in a cloud* (ſayes the Text) this comes next to be enquired concerning.

*In a cloud*] This ſeems of neceſſity to be a myſticall cloud, for ſuch as their aſcention is, ſuch muſt needs be the cloud, wherein they do aſcend. Shall we ſay therefore, it is a multitude of people? we read *Heb.* xii. 1. A multitude of beleevers are called, *A cloud of Witneſſes.* And is there not ſome alluſion think you here intended? Theſe Witneſſes aſcend up to Heaven *in a cloud*, they are accompanied with a cloud of Witneſſes, rejoycing, and congratulating with them for this their ſo unexpected, and happy freedom, every one now helping, and lifting them up what they can, to that honour which by the voice from heaven they are called unto.

I do not finde Interpreters go thus particularly to work, thinking perhaps (as the ſaying is, Gold is not under every ſtone.) I mean, That every word ſhall have ſomething of moment in it; but perhaps it would not have given ſatisfaction, had I paſſed this ſame without this particular examination: but how likely this is the cloud wherein theſe Witneſſes aſcend up to heaven, I ſhall leave every one to judge, and from it paſſe on to the Concomitants of this aſcention, the former whereof is laid down in theſe words. And their enemies beheld them.

Their enemies.] Who can theſe be, but the Antichriſtian faction? Whom can we imagine enemies to theſe Witneſſes, but they?

Theſe

Theſe behold them.] And with how much terrour, with how much inward torment, and vexation? When they roſe again in the former verſe, you ſee what impreſſions of fear it then made upon them, *The Witneſſes ſtand upon their feet* (ſay thoſe words,) *and great fear fell on them which ſaw them:* Even juſt ſo it was with *Herod*, when he thought *John the Baptiſt*, (whom he beheaded) was riſen from the dead: And no marvell they are put into this fright, upon the riſing again of theſe Witneſſes: For the Popiſh faction to ſee them riſe again whom they had ſlain once, they then conceiving they had made ſuch a hand with theſe Witneſſes, as they ſhould never be troubled with them any more; can you blame them they are afraid at it? Matth. 13. 2.

But further, That after their riſing again, they ſhould now aſcend up to heaven alſo; what fear, what indignation, will this impreſſe upon them? What fear? Had they, but only riſen again, they might have hoped again to have ſlain them; but now to aſcend up to heaven alſo, ſo as they could not reach them, ſo as they could not ſlay them any more: where they ſhould ſit ſecure, and out of their danger, they thence a new tormenting them, as for their former wrongs, ſo for their late killing of them; and this with much more grievous torment, their little finger being now made heavier, then their whole loynes were before; Can we thinke, but this ſhould much encreaſe the terrour formerly falling on them upon the riſing again of theſe Witneſſes.

And as adde to their fear, ſo beget in them much bitter indignation. To ſee thoſe whom they accounted not worthy to breath in the air while alive, nor worthy the honour of a grave when dead; not only to riſe again, but to aſcend up to heaven alſo, to be followed with ſhoutings, and acclamations, have their Sackcloth taken off, and the *Garment of gladneſſe*, and honour inſtead thereof put upon them: How think we, is not this enough to make the Antichriſtian party, even eat their hearts for ſpight and indignation, and wiſh their eye-balls ſunk in their heads, rather then to behold it. *The Witneſſes aſcend up to heaven, and their enemies behold them.*

Put all together now, and the ſumme of all theſe ſeveralls is this much, After that the Witneſſes are by a ſpeciall hand of God reſtored to office again, have their mouths open, which is

their Reſurrection: Such as are then in authority, in the Reformed Churches, do call them to ſome more ample condition, more free, more honourable, the multitude with joynt endeauour helping, while the Antichriſtian faction are ſtrucken with fear, and great indignation at the beholding. This ſeems the meaning of the words, the obſervations now follow.

1. Are the Reformed Churches *heaven.*] And the Act of ſome in power there [*A voyce from heaven.*] See then the vaſt difference betwixt theſe Churches, and the Synagogue of Satan. This is *earth*, and the members thereof, *The Inhabitants of the earth* (as we ſaw before;) but on the contrary, the Reformed Churches are *heaven*, and thoſe that appertain thereunto, are ſuch who *dwell in heaven.* And not without cauſe ſo called, for certainly if the preſence of God, of Chriſt, of the Spirit, will make heaven; Sure then the Churches of Chriſt are not undeſervedly ſo called. The policy theſe walk by, is a *heavenly* policy; Our *converſation*, or as the originall, *our policy is in heaven*, (ſayes the Apoſtle, *Eph.*3. 20.) their graces are from *heaven*, the Ordinances they attend upon, come from thence, and will in due time, as a means, carry up the *comers* thereunto alſo.

Ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Heb.10 1.

2. Doth a voyce from heaven call the Witneſſes up thither? Why then however the riſing again of the Witneſſes be by the ſpeciall hand of God; yet their aſcenſion is, by the means and intervention of men. *A voice from heaven calls them up thither.* Take notice of it, the hand of God raiſes up the Witneſſes from the dead, the hand of men does help them up to heaven; God will take order the Witneſſes once ſlain, ſhall again Propheſie: We muſt take order it be no more in Sackcloth.

3. Do the Witneſſes aſcend up to heaven? Tis plain then, there is a time (a time here I mean) when theſe Witneſſes ſhall have their mourning Weeds, their Sackcloth, taken from them: There is a time, when they ſhall have honour, eſteem, and recompence for all the ſcorn, and injuries have been put upon them. Yea, a time alſo, when they ſhall be above the enemies reach, and danger: Vex and ſtorm at them, they may, But when they once aſcend up to heaven, they get ſo farre above them, as they ſhall be able to ſlay them no more.

4. Do the enemies of the Witneſſes behold their aſcending up

up to heaven? Oh what indignation, what gnaſhing of teeth will this cauſe in ſuch beholders! To ſee theſe have their Sackcloth taken from them, ride in the ſecond Chariot, honour have and eſteem put upon them; certainly *Haman* could not be more ſad at the preferment of *Mordecai*, then will theſe be grieved and vexed at the Aſcenſion of the Witneſſes. Eſth. 6.

---

VERS. 13.

*And the ſame hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the City fell; and in the earthquake were ſlain of men, ſeven thouſand, and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.*

NOw follows the other Concomitant of the Witneſſes Reſurrection, and aſcending up to heaven, together with the ſeverall Conſequents thereon depending, in the words laſt mentioned; *The ſame hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the City fell, &c.*

In the handling whereof, we ſhall obſerve;

1. The *time* of the Earthquake here mentioned, in theſe words; *The ſame hour there was a great earthquake.*

2. The *Earthquake it ſelf.*

3. The ſeverall conſequents of this earthquake, being in all three; all whereof we ſhall handle as they fall in their own order.

But firſt of the time; [*The ſame hour there was a great earthquake.*]

*The ſame hour.*] Some copies reade, [The ſame day.] But whether *day* or *hour*, both ſeem to come to one; neither to be underſtood of either *day* or *hour* properly ſo taken.

If you reade, [The ſame hour] it is not to be taken properly, for the 24 part of a naturall day; no more then 'tis in the 14 Chapter of this Propheſie, and 7 verſe; *The hour of his Judgement is come:* Or at the 17 Chapter, and 12 verſe; *Theſe receive power one hour with the Beaſt*; beſides many ſuch like inſtances, which might be fetcht from other places.

If you reade, [The ſame day,] it ſeems not to be underſtood either.

either of a naturall or artificiall day properly ſo called, no more then in many other places. But whether one, or other, *day*, or *hour*, this appears the plain meaning of the holy Ghoſt; About the time of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of the Witneſſes, about that time, there is a great earthquake.

The *earthquake* it ſelf now follows, *There was a great earthquake.*

There is a *naturall earthquake*, as I may call it, when ſome windy matter being incloſed in the caverns of the earth, impatient of being impriſoned there long, breaks forth at laſt, cauſing great and violent concuſſions and motions of the earth. Such as this you reade of, the 1. of *Amos* 1: ſuch a kinde of earthquake as this was at our Saviours Reſurrection; but this kinde of earthquake we are not to underſtand here.

*Ariſto. 2. Meteo. 7.*

*Mat. 28. 2.*

Beſides this there is a *myſticall earthquake*, when there are great ſtirs and commotions in Kingdoms and States, and by theſe the Forms of Government changed. Such earthquakes are thoſe mentioned at the 8 Chapter of this propheſie and 5 verſe; and 16 Chapter, and 18 verſe. And (if I miſtake not) where we finde mention of an earthquake in all this book, we are to conceive it to be a *myſticall earthquake*. Such is the great earthquake here mentioned, a myſticall earthquake, a State-quake, a Kingdom-quake; this ſeems the great earthquake here intended: When therefore the holy Ghoſt tells us, *The ſame hour there was a great earthquake*, 'tis this in effect; About the time of the riſing again, and Aſcenſion of theſe Witneſſes, there are great State and Kingdom-ſhakings.

The *Conſequents* of this earthquake next follow, in theſe words; *The tenth part of the City fell, and in the earthquake were ſlain of men ſeven thouſand; And the remnant were terrified, and gave glory to the God of heaven.*

Which Conſequents if you take them aſunder, are three, as was before hinted. 1. *The tenth part of the City falls.* 2. *Seven thouſand men ſlain.* 3. *The remnant are terrified, and give glory to the God of heaven.* Of theſe in this order; 1. The fall of the tenth part of the City, then of the other as they follow.

*The tenth part of the City fell; τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως*] I finde nothing in this Propheſie of the Witneſſes, with more variety and

and difference interpreted then this ſame; and doubtleſſe could we hit right here, it would contribute no little to our ſatisfaction in the greateſt intricacie of this buſineſſe. Give me leave to offer a taſte of theſe different Interpretations, eſpecially of them which ſeem to carry moſt likelyhood; which when I have done, I ſhall propound, and ſubmit my own thoughts in the buſineſſe.

The great queſtion is, What we ſhould underſtand by *the* [*Tenth part of the great City*, τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως.] In anſwer whereto, you have ſome will tell you 'tis the *Tenths* of the City, meaning, That whereas the Popes have *Tenths* paid them, which was the manner of the Romans formerly, as alſo of other Princes of elder times, now upon the riſing again of the Witneſſes, and the great earthquake thereupon attending, this Tribute of Tythes or Tenths, whereby he was in great part maintained before, ſhall now at laſt be utterly with-held from him. This is δέκατον τῆς πόλεως, that which we tranſlate, [The tenth part of the City] falling. But (as ſome well obſerve) to make this good, it muſt have been δεκάτη τῆς πόλεως; but it is δέκατον, and therefore this cannot be the meaning.

The *Arabiq*, without conſent of any, either Copy or Tranſlation that I have met withall, reads, The *third part* of the City fell.

Another therefore by this [δέκατον] which we tranſlate [*The tenth part of the City*] would underſtand, Thoſe *ten Kingdoms*, which at the 17 Chapter of this Propheſie, and 13 verſe, *give up all their ſtrength and power to the Beaſt*; And when thoſe at laſt draw off from Antichriſt, which they do, for *theſe ſhall hate the Whore, eat her fleſh, and burn her with fire*, Chap. 17. ver. 16. This is the fall of the Decharchy of the City. Thoſe ten Kingdoms that had formerly ſupported Antichriſt, now drawing off, and preparing for her deſtruction, this is the fall of the *tenth* part of the great City. And ſure if theſe ten Kingdoms withdrawing themſelves, hating the Whore, eating her fleſh, and burning her with fire, ſhould not fall in with the time of the ſeventh Trumpet, and laſt Vial, and be not that deſtruction which at that time is to be executed upon her, I mean the *Romiſh Babylon*, I ſhould think this interpretation did carry much appearance of truth with it.

But then another by [*the tenth part of the City*] would underſtand, *the City it ſelf*, *Rome* it ſelf falls, making this ſame all one with the fifth Vial, which poured out upon the Throne of the Chap. 16. 10.

the Beaſt, that is, upon *Rome* (ſayes this Interpreter) *Rome* hereby comes to be deſtroyed. And if any object, The holy Ghoſt doth not ſay the whole City falls, onely *the tenth part of the City*; to this it is anſwered, That when *Rome* comes to be deſtroyed, it is but the *Tenth part* of what it was formerly. It was in compaſſe in former times neer 42 miles within the walls, now about 15: And if we meaſure, it will appear, That that which is in compaſſe 15 miles, will make up but the *tenth part* of that which is in compaſſe 42 miles. And ſo accordingly, when the *tenth part of the City falls*, as is here ſaid, the whole City is meant; for now the whole, is but the *tenth part* of what it was formerly.

This, I confeſſe, is a pretty Notion, but yet ſuch as I durſt in no wiſe conclude is the meaning of the holy Ghoſt in this place: It carries with it too much acuteneſſe to be the meaning of the Spirit; and indeed it ſeems too much forced alſo; That *the tenth part of the City*, ſhould mean *the whole City*, the words ſeem not in any reaſonable congruity to admit of it.

Give me leave now in the laſt place, to adde what hath moſt taken upon me, in all the variety of thoughts in this matter: and it is this;

The Antichriſtian Kingdom, as made up of thoſe *ten horns*, ten Kingdoms, into which the Roman Empire upon its fall was reſolved, theſe ten at the ſame time with one conſent giving their power thereunto, ſeem here, as alſo in other places, compared to a great City: Which City, anſwerably to the ten parts of the Antichriſtian Kingdom, hath ten parts alſo; every one of thoſe ten Kingdoms, by ſubmitting it ſelf to the Government of this myſticall City, I mean this myſticall *Babylon*, hereby making it ſelf a part of it.

This ſtated, we ſay accordingly [*the tenth part of the City*] muſt mean, One of thoſe ten Kingdoms, which having ſubmitted it ſelf to the Government of this myſticall *Babylon*, hereby became to a part of it: and then anſwerably is this *tenth Kingdom, the tenth part of the great City* ſaid to *fall*, when that kinde of Government, which ſubmitted to made this one part of that City, I mean of *Romiſh Babylon*, is now utterly diſſolved and aboliſhed in that Kingdom.

So then all this together is thus much: About the time the

Witneſſes riſe again, and aſcend up to heaven, there are great ſtirs and commotions, this is *the earthquake*; and among theſe, that Antichriſtianiſm which in one of the ten Kingdoms ſubmitted to, made it one of the parts of the Romiſh *Babylon*, is utterly quaſh'd and diſſolved in that Kingdom. This ſeems to be *the fall of the tenth part of the great City.*

And here obſerve it, 'tis [τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως] with an Article, which (I confeſſe) I had once let paſſe, but ſhould by no means paſſe without notice; [*That tenth part of the great City*] ſo we might render it, where the holy Ghoſt ſeems to tell us which tenth part of the City, which of the ten Kingdoms he means, why [*that tenth part*] that which ſeems eaſily diſcernable from all the reſt, *that tenth part falls.* But which this is, I ſhall hereafter ſpeak my conjecture; let this ſuffice at preſent, that in *That tenth Kingdom*, which ſeems eaſily differenced from all the reſt, Antichriſtianiſm is aboliſhed, this is the *fall of that tenth part of the great City.* This ſeems the meaning, and (I muſt confeſſe) I have nothing readily to object againſt it, but from this firſt conſequent of the earthquake, *viz. The fall of the tenth part of the City*, we may proceed to the ſecond, in theſe words; *And in the earthquake were ſlain of men ſeven thouſand.*

This follows, and this is not without its difficulties neither: Some reade, *the heads of men* that were ſlain were ſeven thouſand; but if we reckon by the pole, ſeven thouſand men numbred by the pole were ſlain, and no more, it will readily be objected; How can it be imagined the tenth part of the Antichriſtian Kingdom ſhould fall, and yet but ſeven thouſand heads, or ſeven thouſand men reckoned by the Pole, ſlain and overwhelmed in ſo great a ruine? Seven thouſand, thus reckoned, ſeem not a number any whit proportionable. To which it may be anſwered; This number of ſeven thouſand, is a perfect number, and is here put, as in other places, not to ſignifie juſt ſo many, and no more, but rather a certain number, for an uncertain, and may very well ſignifie a great many more then preciſely that number.

But if this ſhould not paſſe, there is another Interpretation beſides, and this ſeems without all exception.

This therefore inſtead of reading [*the names of men that were ſlain*] which is the Originall, reads [*the men of name that were ſlain*]

Ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων, for ἀνθρώποι ὀνομαστοὶ.

*ſlain were ſeven thouſand.*] And this not raſhly, this kinde of ſpeaking being not infrequent in the Scripture: hence you reade *Silver of Talents*, for *Talents of Silver*, and the like; ſo here, *names of men*, for *men of names*: And if you would know what's meant by this expreſſion [*men of name,*] and what [*name*] imports in this conſtruction [*men of name*] conſult that 6 of *Gen.* and 4 verſe, and you finde, thoſe Giant-like men whom the Originall calls, *men of name*; our Tranſlation calls, *men of renown*; And ſo both the Originalls ſignifying [*name*] often tranſlated; ſo here, *There were ſlain ſeven thouſand men of name*, that is, *men of note, of quality*: So many were ſlain, *in the fall of the tenth part of the* City.

אנשי השם
*Gre. Ονοματοὶ.*
*Beza Anno.*

And if this ſhould be ſo, it cleerly takes off the former objection, *viz.* That the number of bare ſeven thouſand, were not proportionable; for granting that ſo many of quality, of name, are ſlain, beſides theſe numbers of the common ſort that may be overwhelmed in thoſe ruines, and ſure ſeven thouſand men of note with thoſe other, are a number anſwerable to the fall of the tenth part of the City.

But before I paſſe further, I muſt tell you, this *ſlaughter* of theſe ſeven thouſand, ſeems not to mean a *reall and proper ſlaughter*, no more then did the *ſlaughter* of the Witneſſes before mentioned: for if the earthquake were not ſuch properly ſo called, onely ſignifying ſtirs and commotions in the tenth part of the great City, and ſo a myſticall earthquake, as we ſaw before; in like manner, neither can this *ſlaughter* which is done by a myſticall earthquake, be any other then a *myſticall ſlaughter*.

And if a *myſticall ſlaughter*, what can it be, but the Antichriſtian faction, the abettors and maintainers of Antichriſtianiſme, in that tenth part of the great City, have their place, their power, their maintenance taken from them, they ceaſe to be in office as before, they loſe their *Livings*, this is to them the *loſing of their lives*, this ſeems the *ſlaughter of the ſeven thouſand eminent men* here intended.

I do not deny but in theſe ſtirs ſome of them may be *ſlain* indeed; ſomewhat like whereto was formerly ſpoken concerning the ſlaying of the Witneſſes, but this is not the ſlaughter is here chiefly aymed at, it is eſpecially a myſticall ſlaughter.

We

We have ſeen now the ſecond Conſequent, *viz. Seven thouſand men ſlain*; the third follows, in theſe words; *The remnant were terrified, and gave glory to the God of heaven.*

And who is this remnant, but ſome of that party, I mean the Antichriſtian faction; who ſeeing the juſt and apparent hand of God upon them, are ſtricken with it, acknowledging their errour, and thus give glory to the God of heaven. Joſ. 7. 19.

Or elſe the *remnant were terrified*, that is, the other ſort of people, who ſcaping the ſlaughter wherein the profeſſed Antichriſtian faction were eſpecially concerned, they, ſeeing the hand of God upon them, are terrified, and by confeſſing their former miſtake in cleaving to them, do thus give glory to the God of heaven.

Sum up all this verſe now, and 'tis thus much: About the time theſe Witneſſes riſe again, and aſcend up to heaven, about this time there are great ſtirs and commotions, in ſome of thoſe ten Kingdoms, into which the Roman Empire, upon its fall, became divided. By means whereof, Antichriſtianiſme becomes utterly aboliſhed in one of thoſe ten Kingdoms: upon the aboliſhing whereof, many of note, and profeſſedly of the Antichriſtian faction, are thrown from all Authority and Place, as alſo that large maintenance which they had before; which the other people, cleaving faſt to them before, now beholding, and taking notice of the finger of God in it, confeſſe their former errour, ſtrike off from them, never to cleave to them any more.

The Obſervations now follow:

1. Is one Kingdom but *the tenth part of the great City?* hence obſerve the extent of the *myſticall Babylon*. The Popiſh faction may well cry up Viſibilty, Univerſality, the Catholique Church, and the like, why one Kingdom is but the *tenth part of it.* *Bell. de Not. Eccl.*

2. Hence we have the reaſon, why that Call of God, *viz.* [*Come out of her my people*] is not to be reſtrained to the City of *Rome* properly, and in the letter ſo taken, but takes place in all the ten Kingdoms, and in all the parts thereof, though never ſo far remote from *Rome*, in regard of diſtance of ſpace. The Government of this great *Babylon* takes in ſeverall Kingdoms, and ſo far as her Government, and Worſhips are retained in any of them, ſo far doth God call ſuch a people out of *Babylon.* Rev. 18. 4.

3. If any of the *ten Kingdoms* have withdrawn themſelves utterly from Antichriſt, then is the *tenth part of the City fallen.* I need not trouble you with the rehearſall of the ten Kingdomes, they are commonly known to be theſe; 1. There was the *Alanes*, the *Almains*, the *Britains*; the *Burgundians*, the *Frankes*, the *Greeks*, the *Oſtrogoths*, the *Saxons*, the *Vandals*, the *Wiſigoths*: If any of theſe have utterly withdrawn themſelves from Antichriſt, then is the tenth part of the City fallen; If not, then is not the tenth part of the City fallen. But if any be utterly *withdrawing*, then is the tenth part of the City *falling*.

4. There is a time when the Antichriſtian faction ſhall be paid in their own coyn: Have they ſlain the Witneſſes? why when the tenth part of the City falls, they become ſlain alſo: Have they ſilenc'd and ſuſpended the Witneſſes? even ſo ſhall it be meaſured to them alſo: And perhaps of this there hath been a taſte given already. We have ſeen thoſe brought to the Bar, who have uſed to ſit in Judgement, paſſing hard and unjuſt ſentence upon others. Thoſe ſuſpended, and their livings ſequeſtred, who formerly have been active to do as much for others. And no marvell; As *Babylon* falls, ſo the Popiſh faction alſo.

5. Do a *remnant repent upon the fall of part of* Babylon, *and the ſlaughter accompanying it?* Obſerve then, there is ſome good to be expected from the fall of *Babylon*: when the tenth part falls, then do the *remnant repent*, *and give glory to the God of heaven.* How earneſtly therefore ſhould we pray for the deſtruction of *Babylon*: It did no good ſtanding, but unſpeakable miſchief; it will do good fallen, for then will people hereby be brought unto Repentance.

---

VERS. 14.

*The ſecond Wo is paſt, and behold the the third Wo cometh quickly.*

NOw follows the Cloſe of this Propheſie of the Witneſſes, which alſo as a ſure direction, tells us where we are, eſpecially while in hand with the latter part of this Propheſie; In theſe words; *The ſecond Wo is paſt, and behold, the third Wo cometh quickly.*

The

The meaning whereof (that I make not many words about it) ſeems in ſhort this; *The ſecond Wo*] that is, *The ſixth Trumpet*; For the three laſt Trumpets being three Wo-Trumpets, as appears Chap. 8. verſe 13, *the ſecond Wo* muſt needs mean *the ſixth Trumpet*.

*Is paſt*] that is, Is paſt in mention. *The third Wo*] that is, The *laſt Trumpet*, [*Cometh quickly*] that is, cometh ſpeedily to be mentioned: As if the holy Ghoſt ſhould ſay; Now after this Propheſie of the Witneſſes is related, you have been told all the τὸ μυστήριον, even all the buſineſſe of the ſixth Trumpet; after which, I proceed ſpeedily to acquaint you with the buſineſſe of the ſeventh Trumpet.

Or elſe this may be the meaning, Then when all that which appertains to this Propheſie of the Witneſſes is come to paſſe, and the earthquake attending the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of theſe Witneſſes is perfectly ended, then is the ſtrength of the Wo of the ſixth Trumpet gone alſo. Which the ſeventh Trumpet, and the Wo it brings along with it, ſpeedily follow; which ſeventh Trumpet is to cloſe and ſhut up all this Myſtery.

And now we have gone over this whole Propheſie of the Witneſſes, having carefully enquired the meaning of all the parts thereto appertaining. But before we proceed to ſpeak any thing in that great Queſtion, *Whether the Witneſſes are ſlain yea or no*, reſerved to be diſcuſſed, till we had gone over with the Interpretation of the Propheſie, give me leave to draw together under one view, the brief meaning of all the ſeveralls already handled; which being ſet ſo neer, and as a Preface to the Work yet behind, will be as a Torch held at the entrie, ſhewing us where we ſhould tread, in all that obſcure way we are yet to go; as alſo be a rule neer at hand, whereby to examine what may be propounded in the great diſquiſition following.

Verſe

Verse 3.

*And I will give power unto my two Witnesses, and they shall propheſie a thouſand two hundred, & threeſcore dayes, clothed in Sackcloth.*

During the time that Antichriſtianiſme ſhal continue to ſpread it ſelf thorow the world, God will raiſe up ſuch all this time, who ſhall by their Sermons, Writings, & Actions, teſtifie againſt it, mourning to behold the ſpreadings thereof; hereby alſo kept down, conſtrained to live in an obſcure and mean condition; this their teſtifying againſt it continuing 1260 yeers.

Verse 4.

*These are the two Olive trees, and the two Candleſticks, ſtanding before the God of the earth.*

Theſe Witneſſes moreover, for their quality, are godly Magiſtrates, and Miniſters, ſuch as were *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua* formerly, who all the while of Antichriſt his prevailing, ſhall beſtow themſelves in maintaining whatſoever of Church & Worſhip they have, reforming, repairing, reſtoring as there is need, and regaing what hath been loſt by Antichriſtian encroachments.

Verse 5.

*And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and deſtroyeth their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he muſt in this manner be killed.*

And if any ſhall attempt to harm them, they, furniſhed as once *Moſes* and *Elias* were, by praying and denouncing Judgements, procure certain deſtruction upon them.

Verse 6.

*These have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the dayes of their Propheſie, and have power over Waters to turn them to blood, and to*

And as *Elias* ſhut heaven, ſo that it rained not upon the Apoſtate Iſraelites, while they clave to *Baal*; ſo while the Antichriſtian Gentiles continue ſuch, theſe Witneſſes hold back all tidings

*ſmite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.*

tydings of mercy, and forgiveneſſe (that bleſſed *Train* ſo refreſhing weary ſouls) declaring them (while in that condition) a people to whom no heaven, no forgiveneſſe belongs; as alſo to render their torment compleat, do pour forth upon them all the Vialls.

Verſe 7.

*And when they have finiſhed their teſtimony, the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſſe pit, ſhall make warre againſt them, and ſhall overcome them, and kill them.*

But when theſe Witneſſes are about to cloſe up their mourning teſtimony, and having done much in reforming the Church, and regaining of the utter Court, which Antichriſt had gotten from them before, are now about to throw of their Sackcloth; the Antichriſtian power collecting it ſelf, by ſuſpending, ſilencing, and the like, ſhall thus overcome, and kill theſe Witneſſes.

Verſe 8.

*And their dead bodies ſhall lie in the ſtreet of the great City, which is ſpiritually called* Sodome *and* Egypt, *where alſo our Lord was crucified.*

Theſe Witneſſes being ſlain in their office, continue in this ſtate of civill death, within the Dominion and Territory of *Rome*, which *Rome* is for her filthyneſſe, *Sodome*, for her Idolatry, and cruell perſecutions, *Egypt*, which when heathen, puts our Saviour to death, now Antichriſtian, puts to death his Witneſſes.

Verſe 9.

*And they of the kinreds, and people, and tongues, and nations, ſhall look upon their dead bodies, three dayes and an half, and ſhall not ſuffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.*

While they thus lye dead, the Antichriſtian faction, with ſcorn and deriſion, look upon them, not ſuffering any to afford ſhelter, honour, countenance, to theſe ſilenced Witneſſes.

Verſe 10.

*And they that dwell upon the earth ſhall rejoyce over them, and make merry, and ſend gifts one to another, becauſe theſe two Prophets tormented them that dwelt upon the earth.*

Who alſo in regard they were greatly tormented by theſe Witneſſes when alive, having then poured forth ſome of the Vials upon them. Now that they are ſlain, do out of meaſure rejoyce, they are thus got rid of them.

Verſe 11.

*And after three dayes and an half, the Spirit of life from God entred into them, and they ſtood upon their feet, and great fear fell on them which ſaw them.*

But when theſe Witneſſes have continued for ſome ſpace ſilenced, ſuſpended, after three yeers and an half, they are by a ſpeciall hand of God reſtored to liberty, and office again; at which the Antichriſtian faction become greatly afraid, not having the leaſt thought the Witneſſes once ſlain, ſhould by any means be ever raiſed again.

Verſe 12.

*And they heard a great voice from heaven, ſaying unto them, come up hither, and they aſcended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.*

But being now raiſed, and reſtored to former liberty, ſuch as are then in authority in the reformed Churches do call them to ſome more honourable and ample condition, then was that of their Sackcloth, the people contributing all their help thereunto, while the Antichriſtian faction with fear, and great indignation behold it.

Verſe 13.

*And the ſame hour then was a great Earth-quake, and the tenth part of the City fell, and in the Earth-quake were ſlain of men, ſeven thouſand, and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.*

About this time of the Witneſſes Reſurrection, and aſcending up to heaven, there are great Commotions. By which Antichriſtianiſme becomes utterly aboliſhed in one of the ten Kingdoms, made out of the ancient Roman Empire: upon the aboliſhing whereof, many are quite outed of honour, power, mainte-

maintenance, they held before, which ſome of the people, cleeving formerly to them now beholding, and taking notice of the juſt hand of God in it, ſtrike off from them, never to cleave to them any more.

Verſe 14.

*The ſecond woe is paſt, and behold, the third Woe cometh quickly.*

Thus ends the mention of the buſineſſe of the ſixth Trumpet: or now when this Earth-quake ends with it, the ſtrength of the ſixth Trumpets woe ends alſo; after which the ſeventh Trumpet bringing in the laſt woe, immediately begins.

I Have hitherto kept my ſelf almoſt to a Grammaticall expoſition of this Propheſie, ſcarce at all glancing at that queſtion, ſo much longed for to be anſwered, *Whether the Witneſſes are ſlain yea or no.* But now the Propheſie being gone over, and the reaſon why I forbore formerly to give my reſolution, (namely becauſe we had not heard the whole Propheſie ſpeak in the buſineſſe;) now no more taking place, I ſhould prove very injurious, if after keeping the matter in ſuſpence all this time, I ſhould not now at laſt (as *Samſon* once preſſed with importunity) tell all my whole heart, and diſcover whatſoever light I have received in this buſineſſe. Judg. 16. 16, 17.

I ſhall therefore now cheerfully ſet upon it, in mannaging whereof, I ſhall not dare to be peremptory in any thing, expecting that any ſhould be concluded by what is propounded, farther then drawn to it by the ſtrength of reaſon conſonant to Scripture; and if I miſtake, for who am I, but I ſhould, eſpecially in a matter ſo intricate, and perplex as this is, ſuch as are candid, and Chriſtian will paſſe it by, being confident (which they may be) that upon diſcovery, I ſhall moſt readily recede from it.

This premiſed, come we now a little neerer to our purpoſe, The great queſtion after all remains, *Whether theſe Witneſſes are ſlain, yea or no*; which once reſolved, accordingly we ſhall be

better able to anſwer that common queſtion, almoſt in every ones mouth. What will become of us? What do you think of theſe times? The deſire to anſwer which, was one main reaſon why we undertook this Propheſie of the Witneſſes.

And for our more orderly diſcuſſing of this queſtion, we ſhall firſt take a view of their ſeverall thoughts, that tell us this ſlaughter of the Witneſſes is paſt, and paſt a good while agone, and ſee if any of theſe will abide the tryall. If not, then further enquire, if any ſuch thing hath been done in theſe latter times, which may appear to be the killing of theſe Witneſſes, which if we finde not, the queſtion is then cleerly anſwered, the Witneſſes are not ſlain: If we can, then the Witneſſes are ſlain, That which every one of us would ſo fain have to be ſo.

The ſeverall opinions that bear us in hand the Witneſſes are ſlain, and ſlain a good while agone, are ſuch as theſe: Some tell us this was done, when ſo many thouſands of thoſe poor men of *Lions* (commonly ſo called) were deſtroyed by the procurement of Pope *Boniface* the eighth, about the yeer 1300. Others there are, that ſay, they were ſlain, when *John Huſſe*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* were burnt by the Councell of *Conſtance*, about the yeer 1418. Others making the *two Teſtaments*, the *two Witneſſes*, tell us this ſlaughter was then, when they of the *Councell of Trent*, took away the perfection and authority of the Scriptures from them, about the yeer one thouſand five hundred forty ſixe; neer which time alſo, *Charls* the fifth, then the Popes moſt ſtout Champion, did overthrow, and vanquiſh the ſtrength of the godly party, at that time with all their might contending againſt Antichriſt.

Some referre this ſame to the Maſſacre of *Paris*, others to the troubles of *Germany*.

And indeed what place of the Weſtern world, but hath had ſome thing done in it, like a ſlaying of the Witneſſes; which perhaps is the ground, why ſome think this killing of the Witneſſes muſt be done ſucceſſively, in one Kingdom after another, and no other certain, and determinate killing beſides this, to be expected; but of this perhaps more anon.

Among all theſe opinions, for the Witneſſes being ſlain ſo long ago, I ſhall ſingle out that from all the others, which

ſeems

ſeems indeed the moſt likely of them all: I mean that which ayms it upon the *Counſell of Trent*, bringing this to the touch, which if it ſhall appear, is not the ſlaying of the Witneſſes, and this by any arguments, which ſhall as forceably come againſt the other alſo, (I mean that which makes it the ſame with the deſtroying of the *Waldenſes*, as alſo the ſame with the burning of *John Huſſe*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*,) then this opinion falls, and with it, thoſe other alſo. And for the Maſſacre of *Paris*, the troubles of *Germany*, they are not ſo contended for by any, that we ſhould be at the trouble particularly to examine them.

That this therefore cannot be the ſlaying of the Witneſſes, I mean that which was done againſt the Scriptures, and the godly, about the time of the Councell of *Trent* (beſides the Arguments proving the Scriptures, are not the Witneſſes) ſeems evident thus:

1. Becauſe the *Reſurrection* of the Witneſſes, together with the *Earth-quake* thereto appertaining, bring in the *ſeventh Trumpet*, which appears from the 13. 14. and 15 Verſes of this Chapter, and the *ſeventh Trumpet* brings in the *utter deſtruction of Antichriſt*, as is evident from the 10 Chap. ver. 6,7. where the Angel ſwears, That when the *ſeventh Trumpet ſhall begin to blow, there ſhall be time no more*; Antichriſts time ſhall then be no more: But now we do not ſee Antichriſt deſtroyed, notwithſtanding an hundred yeers paſt, and gone ſince this pretended ſlaughter, and riſing again of theſe Witneſſes. I ſay once more, the riſing again of the Witneſſes, brings in the ſeventh Trumpet, utterly deſtroying Antichriſt, and here's a hundred yeers paſt, ſince tis ſaid theſe Witneſſes roſe again, and yet Antichriſt in ſtrength undeſtroyed at this day.

2. If the Witneſſes muſt pour forth at leaſt *two or three Vials* before they be ſlain, then could they not be ſlain, about the time of the *Trent* Counſell, when 'tis confeſſed, That either none, or but one of the Vials, was then poured forth. The conſequent is cleer; and that at leaſt *two, or three Vials* muſt be poured forth, before they can be ſlain; hence appears, otherwayes, How are they ſaid, before they are ſlain, to *torment them that dwell upon the earth*, at the tenth verſe of this Chapter, and this (as we there ſhewed) by pouring forth the Vials.

If any ſhall ſay, *the tormenting* there mentioned may mean onely the firſt Vial, and this will be granted was poured forth before, mark the inconveniences by thus ſaying we run upon: 1. The term of the Beaſt his continuing, and of the Witneſſes propheſying in Sackcloth, beginning and ending at the ſame time (as is commonly believed) by this reckoning we leave the Beaſt the ſpace while ſix Vials are a pouring forth, after that the term of the Witneſſes Propheſie is paſt and ended.

2. If but one Vial be poured forth when they are ſlain, and the ſixth and ſeventh Vial fall neer their Reſurrection, which they do, what becomes of the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Vials, where finde we any room for them? they hereby become utterly excluded. To ſay they are poured forth in the three yeers and an half, betwixt the ſlaying and Reſurrection of the Witneſſes; ſure this time is too ſcant for four Vials to be poured forth in: And beſides, the Witneſſes (who as we have ſhewn formerly, do pour forth all the Vials) do lie dead during all that ſpace, and therefore thoſe Vials cannot then be poured forth.

To gather up all this in brief. The Witneſſes torment the earth, with four or five Vials before they are ſlain (the ſixth and ſeventh Vial falling in with the time of their Reſurrection) and therefore that time wherein either none, or but one of the Vials was poured forth, as was the time of the *Counſell* of *Trent*, cannot be the time of the ſlaying of the Witneſſes.

3. If the ſlaying and riſing again of the Witneſſes was then, Whence is it that ſince that time theſe Witneſſes have been ſo grievouſly perſecuted? how is it that ſince that time ſo many have continued to propheſie in Sackcloth? yea, ſo many have been ſilenc'd, and ſuſpended in this Kingdom, in other places? Had they been once ſlain, and riſen again, afterward they propheſie in Sackcloth no more, are ſlain no more: If they roſe again then, how is it that for a hundred yeers ſpace ſince that time, we have found them ſtill continuing to propheſie in Sackcloth?

4. If it can be cleared, that the *one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeers* (the term of the Witneſſes Propheſie) cannot begin ſo high as *Conſtantine the Great*, ſo as to end about the time

time of the *Councell of Trent* (as thoſe that favour this opinion contend) but muſt begin after *Conſtantine*, and ſo reach over the *Councell* of *Trent*, neerer to our times, then the buſineſſe is at an end, there will be no further queſtion in this matter.

To cleer this ſame therefore, and ſo I ſhall eſſay to ſhew you when this one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeers of the Witneſſes Propheſie doth begin (that which every one ſo greedily enquires after.) For this purpoſe, I muſt remember you of what I formerly hinted, namely, That the time of the Gentiles treading down the holy City; the time of the Beaſt his reigning, forty two moneths; the time of the woman in the Wilderneſſe, time, times, and half a time; and the time of the Witneſſes Propheſying in Sackcloth, a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes, ſeem all of them to be the ſame time; ſo that if we can finde where any of theſe either begin or end we ſhall finde where every of them begin, and end alſo. This ſtated (which none need queſtion, proof being ſo obvious to any that ſhall make enquiry, and which only for brevity ſake, I do not produce,) I ſay this granted. Let us eſſay to finde when the beaſt begins his forty two moneths, which ſeems eaſieſt of the reſt, and for our better direction, in this work, we ſhall make theſe enquiries. *Vid Mede. Clav. Apo. Napier Paraen.*

1. When that [τὸ κατέχον, *that Let*] which the Apoſtle tells the *Theſſalonians* hindred Antichriſt his coming) was removed out of the way: For if we can finde when that *hinderance* was removed, we ſhall certainly finde when Antichriſt comes, whoſe coming is juſt upon the removall of the *hinderance*. 2 Theſ. 2. 6, 7.

2. When the Beaſt had his *deadly wound* with the ſword, and that *healed* up again; for from that time forward, the Beaſt hath power to continue forty and two moneths. Revel. 13. 4, 5.

3. When the Beaſt became *ten-horned*; for however the horns in nature are ſomewhat after the Beaſt, and ſo here, yet not ſo long, but that by this enquiry we may gain ſome light, and direction in this buſineſſe. Chap. 17.

For the firſt of theſe, *viz.* When that *Let* that hindered Antichriſt his coming, was taken out of the way. Sure this could not be when *Conſtantine* came to be Emperour, (which quaſhes the former opinion) for after him the *Roman* Emperours.

rours (which were *the Let* the Apoſtle ſpeaks of) continued a good ſpace.

*Ob.* But, may ſome ſay, the *Pagan* Emperours, were the [κατέχον, the hinderance,] which determining in *Conſtantines* time, then the hinderance became removed.

*Reſp.* I anſwer, no, It was the *Emperours*, whether *Pagans*, or *Chriſtians* that were the hinderance: For both theſe, making but the ſixth head, I mean the ſixth kinde of Government the Roman Empire was to be caſt into, while theſe ſtaid on, they hindered the riſing up of the ſeventh. It was the ſixth head ſtanding on, that hindered the riſing up, and appearance of the ſeventh: To make this more plain, conceive it all thus; The Chap. 17. Verſe 3. Roman Empire is preſented in this Propheſie as a Beaſt, with ſeven heads; which ſeven heads, are ſeven kinds of Governments, one in order ſucceeding an other. Verſe 10. Five of theſe heads were gone, and the ſixth, namely, That of Emperours was in being, then when *John* wrote this *Revelation*: Which kinde of Government (I mean of Emperours) being but *heatheniſh* at preſent, was afterward to become *Chriſtian*, yet ſtill continuing the ſixth head, notwithſtanding all this alteration, otherwayes the Beaſt muſt have more heads then ſeven. Till this head was wounded to death, as it was to be, there was no place for the ſeventh: The *Emperours*, the ſixth head, muſt be wounded to death, before the ſeventh, *viz.* That of *Popes* could ſucceed in the room of it.

But then it will be asked, when had this ſixth head the deadly wound, (The ſecond thing we were to enquire concerning.)

But before I ſpeak directly to this query, give me leave to note theſe two things. 1. This deadly wound of the ſixth head was made by the ſword; ſo you read expreſly at the fifteenth Chapter, 14 verſe. 2. Upon this deadly wound, this ſixth head dies not, declines not, but by degrees, every ſtep of its declining, advancing the ſeventh head accordingly that was to ſucceed.

This premiſed, we ſay, Then ſeems this deadly wound of the ſixth head, the head of Emperours begun to be made, when in the yeer 365 or there about. Thoſe barbarous Nations, the *Almains*, *Quades*, *Gothes*, with ſeverall other, broke in upon the

the Roman Empire, burning and deſtroying where they came, from this time ſeems laid the ground-work of the ruine of the Weſtern Emperours.

Not long after this, about the yeer 412 (as *Sleidan* reckons) or 410 (as others) *Alaricus* the *Goth* ſacks *Rome* it ſelf; ſure this was a deadly blow to the Emperours indeed, when the Seat of the Empire it ſelf becomes conquered. It could not be but at this time the ſixth head ſhould lie a bleeding. And indeed it did ſo; for juſt this very yeer, (as ſome obſerve) ſeverall of the ten horns began to appear upon the ſeventh head (the third thing we were to enquire) I ſay, ſeverall of thoſe ten horns, thoſe ten Kingdoms into which the Roman Empire became divided, even this very yeer began to riſe up, upon the ruines of the now diſſolved Empire. And ſure the ſixth head at this time muſt be very low, when ſeverall of the horns of the ſeventh head (which as was in nature, ſo here, are after the head) were now become viſible and conſpicuous; ſure much more the ſeventh head it ſelf, upon which theſe horns grow, was by this time in being, and viſible alſo. *Sleidan, Sum: Imper: lib. 2.*

Yet by the way, not in being a hundred yeers at leaſt before this time of the firſt horns ſpringing up, which yet they muſt ſay, who will begin the Beaſt his 42 months as high as *Conſtantine*: For though the horns are to be conceived after the head, yet 'tis an unreaſonable thing to imagine them a hundred yeers, after, eſpecially when we are told, *That theſe receive power at one hour with the Beaſt*, Chap. 17. ver. 12. But this on the by: To our purpoſe therefore again.

The Empire after this, had ſome ſtruglings with the pangs of death for the ſpace of forty yeers, or thereabout; but when *Genſericus* the *Vandal* came, about the yeer 455, and ſacks *Rome* again, and now burns it: at which time, all the ten horns were grown out, the ten Kingdoms grown compleat, then became the Roman Empire utterly extinct.

But now the queſtion will be, From which of theſe periods muſt we begin to reckon the Beaſt his forty and two months; whether from the firſt incurſions of the *Goths* upon the Roman Empire, in the yeer 365, or when they ſacked *Rome*, in the yeer 410, or elſe in 455, when the Empire of the Weſt expired, or from any point of time, between any of theſe.

I anſwer, To begin with it from this or that preciſe yeer I dare not; when the fulfilling of this ſame is cleerer, then may we be more bold; onely I ſhould aim it to begin ſometime between the firſt Invaſion of the Empire, 365, and the ſacking of *Rome*, 410. Sometime neer *Theodoſius the Great* his coming to the Empire, which Hiſtorians will tell you, was about the yeer 380. And the rather I ſhould pitch it thereabout, becauſe neer this time the *woman* ſeems to *flie into the Wilderneſſe* alſo: I ſay, the woman (taking the opportunity of this good Prince, and by him being holpen with the to Eagles wings) ſcapes into the Wilderneſſe from the Dragon; who in purſuing of her, had juſt before, when *Valens* was Emperour, caſt forth the Floods of *Arrianiſme* after her, hoping (though in vain) ſhe would have been utterly overwhelmed by them. About this time, I mean ſome period between 370 and 380, I ſhould begin to reckon the Beaſts 42 months, as alſo make it the common Epocha of all theſe ſeverall times. In which doing (beſides the former proof made hereof) I am not altogether deſtitute of Authority wherewith to back it, but could produce others herein readily conſenting alſo.

Rev. 12.

Vid. *Aſted. Chron. Napier.*

And if ſo, and we begin the Beaſt his forty and two months, alſo the Witneſſes one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeers, neer that time (I mean 380) which in all likelyhood we muſt do, then cleerly they reach over *Councel* of *Trent*, and ſo much more the *Councell* of *Conſtance*, and the time of the *Waldenſes*, and fall into the lap of theſe times we now are converſant in.

By this reckoning, I ſay, beginning this one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeers of the Witneſſes Propheſie, about 380, (which I pitch upon, becauſe it is a full number, not thinking but this term may perhaps begin two or three yeers before) At what time the Beaſt his forty and two months, and the womans time, times, and half a time in the Wilderneſſe begin) and it not onely ſhews us the Witneſſes could not be ſlain about the time of the *Councell* of *Trent*, (which was the thing in queſtion) but alſo further acquaints us, That we in theſe times muſt look for its fulfilling.

But then every one will ask me, Hath there any ſuch thing as the ſlaying and riſing again of theſe Witneſſes been done

done in our dayes, yea or no?

I anſwer, There hath, and *face doth not more anſwer face*, then ſomething done in our times, doth anſwer the ſlaying, and riſing again of theſe Witneſſes: And ſure I muſt ſay ingeniouſly (and ſo I ſhall ſhrive my ſelf in the buſineſſe) If this be not the *ſlaying*, and *riſing again of the Witneſſes*, I am now about to offer, I cannot imagine any thing already come to paſſe that can be, but muſt tell you, if this ſhould not prove, for any thing hitherto done more likely then this ſame, we are yet to look for it. But I keep you too long from ſight of this, that ſeems ſo like to be the *killing*, *and riſing again of the Witneſſes*, you ſhall be delayed no longer, you ſhall have a full view of it; and perhaps when you have, you may not a little be taken with it.

The *Scene* wherein theſe great things of the Witneſſes *ſlaying*, *Reſurrection*, and *Aſcenſion* have been acted, appears to be this *Iſland of great Britain*; and the *time*, ſome yeers before the calling, and ſince the calling of this *Parliament*.

In this Kingdom therefore (yet in this not excluding other places) for many yeers laſt paſt there have been godly Miniſters, and others, who by their Preaching, Writing, and other wayes teſtifying againſt Antichriſt, and his wickednefſes, have hereby diſcovered themſelves to be of theſe Witneſſes: who in regard they *mourned* to ſee Antichriſtianiſme ſo farre prevail; as alſo becauſe *kept under* without countenance, eſteem, maintenance, Verſ. 3. by a Popiſh Prelaticall party (themſelves the mean while living in all height of honour and exceſſe) might with good congruity be ſaid to *Propheſie in Sackcloth*: And ſure he that had ſeen the condition of the godly Miniſters in this Kingdom not many yeers ago, eſpecially ſuch who were ſo bold as to meddle with either *Prelacie*, or the *Ceremonies*, without the help of an Interpreter, would have readily pronounced, There are no other then the *Witneſſes in Sackcloth*.

But forward; When the date of theſe Witneſſes propheſying draws toward an end (which excluding their three yeers and an half lying dead, will fall about five or ſix yeers agone) Then the Antichriſtian power *ſlayes* the Witneſſes, ſilences, ſuſpends, throws them from their places, *thus ſlaying them*. And hath not all this been fulfilled in our eyes? Were not all the bold

Verſ. 7. oppoſers of *Prelacy, and the Ceremonies, the great remains of Popery in this Kingdom left undemoliſhed,* were they not all ſilenced, had their mouths ſtopped, and ſo ſlain in this Kingdom? There were indeed ſome godly Miniſters left; but was there left a *Witneſſ* (I mean a bold and open oppoſer of Prelacy and the Ceremonies, any emminent one, that openly held forth any ſuch thing in all this Kingdom?) And ſay freely, doth this look like the ſlaying of the Witneſſes, yea or no? You have godly Miniſters, and others, oppoſing what of Antichriſt remains in the Kingdom, ſilenced, ſuſpended, thrown out of place, thus killed: You have all done ſo to, all the bold oppoſers through the Kingdom thus killed: You have it done by the Prelacy, no doubt an Antichriſtian power, and this juſt about the time when by the likelieſt computation it ſhould be done: That every thing ſhould with ſuch conſent, fall in: *Witneſſes* ſlain, *all* ſlain, ſlain by the *beaſt*, and this *then when the courſe of times tells us they ſhould* be ſlain. Can it be, but we muſt confeſſe this is the ſlaying of the Witneſſes?

Verſ. 8. Further. After they are ſlain, *they lye dead in the ſtreet*, that is, They continue in that ſtate of civill death, their killing brought them into, they remain for ſome ſpace ſuſpended, their mouths ſealed up; whom in this caſe, if any ſhould attempt

Verſ 9. to give ſhelter, ſuccour honour to; it muſt not be, for *they will not ſuffer their dead bodies to be put in graves:* And hath not all this come to paſſe accordingly. And when all the Witneſſes were thus ſilenced, and ſlain; did they not for ſome good ſpace ſo continue; was not the *Pulpit* ſhut againſt them, yea the *Preſſe* alſo; no breath of their former life of Witneſſes now coming from them? And then, did not the Prelaticall faction forbid any to ſhelter, countenance, or ſuccour theſe ſilenced Witneſſes? You know what ſearch hath been made for theſe ſame, what care that none ſhould ſhelter them. *Thus not ſuffering their dead bodies to be put in graves.*

When they have brought things to this paſſe, and ſlain all

Verſ. 10. the Witneſſes, then *they rejoyce, and make merry:* And did not that faction do ſo here? Did they not triumph they had made ſuch a hand of the Puritan Preachers through the Kingdom? Have I not heard ſome of them have boaſted, and hugg'd themſelves in it, *They had not left a Puritan Preacher in their Dioceſſe?*

This

This was the ſad condition of the godly Miniſters, and ſome others well affected; for ſome three or four yeers before this Parliament. How think you now, doth this appear like a ſlaying of the Witneſſes, yea or no. But proceed.

*After three yeers and an half, the Spirit of life from God, enters into the Witneſſes, and they ſtand upon their feet: God by his ſpeciall hand reſtores the Witneſſes to their liberty again, which the Anti-chriſtian faction beholding, thereupon become greatly afraid.* Vers. 11. And hath not all this been made good among us alſo; doth any queſtion, when after the three yeers and an half ſilencing and impriſonment of thoſe who ſuffered more publikely, (for juſt ſo long to a day theſe ſuffered.) They together with many other ſilenced, and dead Witneſſes, were again reſtored to liberty, the beginning of this Parliament. At the beholding whereof, and to ſee ſuch a ſudden and unexpected turn of things. I appeal to any man; did not the Popiſh Prelaticall faction become no little affrighted? How think you now, Was not this like a reſurrection of the Witneſſes?

But yet further, being riſen again, they are called up to Heaven, whither aſcending in a cloud, their enemies beheld them. Some act of them in place in calling the Witneſſes to ſome more ample condition, *this is the voice, calling the Witneſſes up to heaven.* Vers. 12. The multitude of people congratulating with them for their freedom; as alſo ſetting to their ſhoulders to help forward their advancement, *This is the cloud wherein they aſcend thither.* And was not this made good alſo, was it not a great voice from heaven which fetch ſome of theſe Witneſſes from the uttermoſt parts of this Kingdom, where they were impriſoned to this place? And did not thouſands of people, *a cloud of Witneſſes*, rejoycing, and with triumph accompany them hither? where alſo hath it not been conſulted for the enlargement of their maintenance and their better accommodation, that ſo they might never more Propheſie in Sackcloth? Of all which alſo, were not their enemies the Popiſh Prelaticall party, as the Text further addes, The no whit over-joyed beholders? All which put together, ſeems it not to be the Witneſſes Aſcenſion?

Once more. *The ſame hour there is a great Earthquake:* About the time of the riſing of the Witneſſes there are great ſtirs, Vers. 13.

and Commotions. And ſince that time, have their not been ſuch in this Kingdom, nay do they not continue with us to this day. All which, what other thing are, they then the great Earthquake accompanying the riſing again of the Witneſſes?

But further in this Earthquake, *The tenth part of the great*
Verſ. 13. *Citie falls*, Antichriſtianiſme in one of the ten Kingdoms falls; And is not this a doing? Prelacy and the Ceremonies, the only remains of Popery, have they not been falling ever ſince? They are gone in *Scotland*, and are they not a going in this Kingdom alſo?

Verſ. 13. And then laſtly, *Seven thouſand men of name ſlain in the Earthquake:* That is many deprived of power, honour, maintenance which they had before: And is not this a doing alſo, And when ſo many *Prelates, Deans and Chapters*, with all their appurtenances, ſhall have their honour, place, maintenance taken from them, which then is done when the bill is once paſſed, drawn up for this purpoſe, Then is the ſlaughter of the ſeven thouſand men of name fully accompliſhed.

The ſumme of all this, that I may give it you at one view, is thus much. The godly Miniſters, or others oppoſing Antichriſtianiſme, and being kept under thereby, are the *Witneſſes Prophefying in Sackcloth.* Their ſilencing, ſuſpending, This is their *ſlaughter.* Their reſtoring to liberty again is there *reſurrection.* The ſtate calling them to more freedom, and honour, is the *voyce from heaven*, calling them thither: The multitude of people congratulating with them, *the cloud wherein they do aſcend.* The Commotions now in the Kingdom, are the *great Earthquake*, Prelacy, and the Ceremonies taken away, this is the *tenth part of the Citie falling*, and the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters with all their rabble being utterly deprived of Authority, honour, maintenance, are the *Seven thouſand men ſlain in the Earthquake.*

And now ſpeak every one his thought, ſeems not this indeed the ſlaying and riſing again of the Witneſſes, and do not things fall in, and anſwer beyond all expectation? It cannot be denyed but this ſame hath likelyneſſe of event to commend it, none more, and then for the time, where elſe would a man have pitch'd, had he been to chooſe? And indeed what can be objected againſt it?

You will ſay, this ſame doth too much ſtraiten this Propheſie in regard of *time* and *place*: It ſeems a buſineſſe more generall then to be confined to this Kingdom, or to thoſe we aym at in it. *Ob.*

I anſwer, for *place*, the holy Ghoſt ſeems cleerly to limit it to the *tenth part of the great City*, *viz.* to one of the ten Kingdoms; and if I ſay, *England* is this tenth part, doth not the Article tell me ſo, ☞ *Anglos, that tenth part*, That one of the ten Kingdoms; which ſeems moſt diſcernable from the reſt; and which is ſo eaſily differenced from the reſt, as is this *Iſland*? *Reſp.* *Penitus toto diviſi ab.*

And let any ſay (which is well worthy our obſerving) where have the Witneſſes of latter times been perſecuted, ſave onely in this Kingdom? In *France*, in the *Low Countreyes*, and ſo in other places, they have been quiet, onely perſecuted here in theſe Kingdoms.

I ſhould not deny but the Witneſſes prophefying in Sackcloth, takes in other places, and hath been done either at once, or ſucceſſively in moſt of theſe Weſtern Kingdoms, yet withall it ſeems to me evident, the cloſe, and Chataſtrophe of this ſame, I mean the *ſlaying* and *riſing again* of theſe Witneſſes, muſt be acted in one Kingdom onely. Otherwiſe, why do not five, or ſix parts or more, or all the parts of the City fall, and not onely the tenth part, if ſo be we ſay the Witneſſes ſhould be ſlain and riſe again at once in ſo many? But one part of the City falls, upon their riſing which could not be imagined, if the Witneſſes were ſlain and roſe again at once in all the parts.

Which ſame (if I may ſtep ſo far aſide) may help to anſwer that queſtion, which I perceive ſome make in this buſineſſe, *viz.* Whether this ſlaughter of the Witneſſes may not be ſucceſſive, and ſo acted in one Kingdom after another: And this anſwer I ſhould give to it: Granting *the Witneſſes may propheſie in Sackcloth*, in one Kingdom after another, in regard it is not limited to place; as alſo is a buſineſſe of long continuance, and ſo hath time enough to move from one place to another: but for their *killing and reſurrection*, in regard theſe are limited to a *certain place*, namely, To the *Tenth part of the City* (as we ſaw before) as alſo farther, to a *certain and fixed time*, namely, To the end and term of the Witneſſes Propheſie in Sackcloth, and to the

end

end of the sixth Trumpet, as a full stop and period to both of them; unlesse we can conceive, *The thousand two hundred and threescore yeers of the Witnesses Propheſie* may end in one Kingdom after another, and the time of the sixth Trumpet, expire in one Kingdom after another, and also the seventh Trumpet begin to sound in one Kingdom after another, which we cannot: we may not conceive the slaying, and rising again of the Witnesses, which are the exact periods of these certain, and fixed times, can be accomplished in one Kingdom after another neither.

But enough of the former part of the objection, urging us, as too much restraining the killing of the Witnesses, in regard of *place*, and for restraining it to particular *persons*, which was the thing objected, I further answer:

I should not restrain it to two or three men, I would be unwilling to put so much envy upon any. Some indeed there were that suffered more publikely then others, yet all the sufferers, Ministers and others, for there were others also of quality were at an under before this *Parliament*, yea *Parliaments themselves rose up as from the dead, in this Parliament.* All these together make the *two Witnesses.*

*Ob.* But if they be slain, and risen again also, how is it, That since they are so miserably persecuted, whence it is this warre is since raised against them, and some of them suffer more deeply now then ever they did before?

*Resp.* To which it may be answered, This is nothing else but *the great Earthquake* upon the Witnesses resurrection; Tis nothing but the Popish Prelaticall faction, struggling for life, now overthrown in the fall of the tenth part of the City. It is not any solemne Authoritative persecution, such as was the former, 'tis the *Earthquake* only, and their strugglings for life, all which ere long are like to end in their utter ruine.

*Ob.* If the Witnesses have thrown of their Sackcloth, how is it that Antichrist is not yet destroyed, the time of Antichrist's continuance, and of the Witnesses Propheſying in Sackcloth ending both together?

*Resp.* The tenth part of Antichrists Kingdom is fallen, at least a falling, which being a leading case to the other, they moulder down apace after. And as we do not begin the account of

Antichrist

Antichriſt his time, from his full growth, but from his birth. ſo neither do we end it with the utter ruine, and overthrow of Antichriſt, but with that great and viſible declining of his, when he utterly looſes a whole Kingdom, this breaking the Ice, for all the other to follow after. In ſhort, Then ſeems the Beaſt his forty two moneths to end, when the tenth part of the City falls, wherein is laid the ground-work of the ruine of all the other alſo.

You have now the conceived ſlaying and riſing again of the Witneſſes which hath fallen out in our times at large repreſented, you have ſeen it in all the likelyhood, and advantage I could hold it forth withall: Now let every one take their liberty to ſpeak their apprehenſion in the buſineſſe; for my part, I cannot but think this ſame is like to be the *ſlaying, and riſing again of the Witneſſes*; only that I may not diſſemble, where I am at a ſtand, give me leave after all, to make theſe two or three queries.

1. When did they of the Kinreds, and people, and tongues, and nations, look upon the ſilenced Miniſters, and others of this Kingdom, who yet at the nineth verſe of this Chapter, are ſaid to look upon the dead Witneſſes?

2. If with the riſing of the Witneſſes, the ſecond Wo paſſes, and this ſecond Wo is the *Turk*, how is it we ſay the Witneſſes are riſen, and yet the *Turk* ſtill continuing, and like enough for ſome ſpace yet to continue? Verſ 13, 14.

3. If with the riſing of the Witneſſes the ſecond Wo paſſes, and the third Wo (*viz.* The ſeventh Trumpet bringing in with the beginning of it, the utter deſtruction of Antichriſt, as alſo the glorious coming and Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt) quickly follows after. Can our times be ſo neer the accompliſhment of theſe, as is the end of the ſecond Wo, which is the ſixth Trumpet, to the beginning of the third Wo, which is the ſeventh Trumpet?

Somewhat I could anſwer unto theſe, but not that which would *quietare*, (as the Schoolmen ſpeak) but theſe anſwered, I know little elſe materiall, and of weight further to be excepted.

And now to draw toward a concluſion, and from all this to ſay ſomewhat to that queſtion, *viz. What will become of us?* which was indeed the occaſion of it all. Why if the Witneſ-

ſes be yet to be ſlain, and ſlain in this Kingdom; Then yet a little while expect and prepare for a ſuffering condition; I ſay, yet a while expect the times ſhould frown and look black upon us; yet being in no wiſe diſcouraged; for be aſſured, either this killing will never come neer us, or if it do, being an *unbloody killing*, we need not carry our ſelves with ſo much ſolicitouſneſſe in the buſineſſe. And certainly for fear of this ſame, to think to pack up, and be gone, while any work here remains, and while there is yet hope concerning us, what were it but to deſert the Cauſe, weaken the already feeble hands, and run our ſelves upon a reall danger, while we flie perhaps but from an imaginary.

But if they be ſlain, and riſen again, which you have ſeen how very likely, then cheer up, ſtrengthen thoſe weak hands, certainly the bitterneſſe of death is already over, and from hence forward expect better dayes, then either our eyes, or the eyes our of forefathers ever ſaw.

If this which we ſaw ere while be indeed the ſlaying and riſing again of the Witneſſes, expect this ſtorm now over our heads ſhould break up ere long, and the latter part of it fall very foul on them who firſt raiſed it.

Expect, That *Prelacy* after a while, ſhould be utterly diſſolved in this Kingdom; Indeed it was ſo *root'd* here, that nothing leſſe then an *earthquake* could throw it up by the *roots*, and we may perhaps be ſhaken worſe yet; but by that time the earthquake is ended, then expect aſſuredly to be freed from *root* and *branch* alſo.

Expect the tyde of Idolatry, Superſtition, and Tyranny turning here, ſhould back, not onely to low water, but till utterly dried up in all theſe Weſtern Kingdoms.

Expect ere long much greater things then I ſhall dare to ſpeak of.

Dan. 2. 34, 35 Expect the *little ſtone* beginning to fall upon the toes of the great image, and ſo diſſolving all, ſhould riſe up upon their ruines a Kingdom incomparably more great, and glorious then they all. Expect that when the Earthquake his ended here, and

Hag. 2 7 hath ſhaken the Nations on a row alſo, That then *the deſire of all*

Heb. 8, 37. *the Nations ſhould come*; for then, *but a little while, and he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry.*

# *Appendix.*

I Have already diſpatched at leaſt the ſumme of what I preached on this Subject (I mean the Propheſie of the Witneſſes.) In the carriage whereof, ſave only in ſome few particulars I have not much varied from the beaten tract of the lateſt, and moſt received Interpreters; ſo that however in point of *Computation* there may be ſome difference, yet in matter of *Interpretation*, I have adventured to ſtand or fall with them. But now becauſe I would contribute all that poſſibly I could in this buſineſſe, and leave no mean unattempted for this purpoſe; I ſhould yet further crave leave to offer an other Interpretation of this Propheſie, which after I entred upon this work, I have met withall, avowed alſo by ſome late Proteſtant Writers; That if ſo be any thing may be made of it, it might be here neer at hand, and thoſe who ſhould deſire to ſee as much at once, as they could in this matter, might hitherto have recourſe, where at leaſt all the common, and likely apprehenſions in this buſineſſe are preſented.

This Interpretation is not the ſame with that groſſe Popiſh, which at the beginning of this diſcourſe was there propounded: nor upon the ſame grounds contended for, yet withall, though not the ſame, yet neer bordering upon, and of neer affinity to it. They indeed who firſt cryed up that opinion which was formerly mentioned as the Popiſh, did it upon miſtake, the Papiſts that ſince have propagated it, did it meerly in deſign, neither whereof, this Interpretation by and by to be named, may be challenged with all.

Upon miſtake I ſay, they firſt did it, for as ſome well obſerve, *Antichriſt* being a *Counter-Chriſt*, and ſo the *coming of Antichriſt*, a *counter Reſemblance* of the *coming of Chriſt*, it came to paſſe there were no leſſe miſtakings in the coming of the one, then there were in the coming of the other: For example, The *Jews* expected *Chriſt* to come when he did come,

and yet becauſe they fanſied him another, then indeed he was to be, and his coming to be in outward pompe, and in the manner of ſome moſt potent temporall Monarch, they knew him not when he was come. So the Chriſtians expected Antichriſt to come at that time when he came indeed, but becauſe they fanſied him to be ſome ſtrange barbarous Tyrant, that by the ſword and power of Arms ſhould not only deſtroy the Church, but conquer the world; therefore they knew him not when he was come: So that as Chriſt came to his own, and his own received him not; So Antichriſt came to thoſe that were not his own, and they eſchued him not: So that miſtakes begat the forementioned opinion concerning Antichriſt, and the ſeverals hereupon depending.

And then it became afterward propogated in deſign; I ſay, indeſign; for the Popiſh faction, to the end they might draw off the eyes of men from looking upon the *Pope*, as *Antichriſt* have bid you not to look for Antichriſt till the end of the Word, at what time *Enoch* and *Elias* the *two Witneſſes*, as the immediate Harbingers of Chriſts ſecond coming muſt be expected alſo.

But this opinion is founded upon no ſuch miſtakes, nor yet drives any ſuch deſign; grants you that Antichriſt is come, that the *Pope* is *Antichriſt*. One dividing the times of Antichriſt into three ſeverall periods. 1. The time of his riſing, and growth, mentioned at the 13. Chapter of this Propheſie and the firſt verſe. 2. The time of his declining, at the third Verſe. 3. The time of his recovering again after his deadly wound, at the 4, 5, verſes. Tells you, that in this laſt Period, this time after the deadly wound healed, there ſhall be ſome moſt cruell Savage-Monſter that ſhall then be Pope, whoſe moſt tyrannicall reign ſhall continue 42 moneths, which preciſe time, that is, three yeers and an half underſtood in the letter, ſhall be the time of the *two Witneſſes* extraordinary Propheſie alſo.

But to hold you no longer from this opinion concerning the Witneſſe, Take it thus.

About the time of the calling of the Jews, ſignified by the *meaſuring of the Temple* in the two firſt verſes of this Chapter. There are raiſed up two extraordinary Witneſſes, being two ſingle perſons, who ſhall teſtifie unto the Jews now miſled by

the

the impoſtures of the falſe Prophet, then firſt brought forth are appearing in *Judea*, and as the Popes ſervant, and ſubſtitute, doing all he poſſibly can in the behalf of him there: This their *Prophesying in Sackcloth*, laſting juſt *three yeers and an half*; namely all the time of the Beaſts 42 moneths, all the time of that laſt and moſt bitter perſecution, of the laſt and worſt *Popiſh* Antichriſt.

Theſe Witneſſes further, the better to defend themſelves and annoy and torment their enemies, as alſo undeceive the Jews miſled by the fained miracles of the *falſe Prophet*, ſhall indeed as once *Elias by fire, deſtroy* their *Enemies, ſhall ſhut heaven that it rain not*, and as formerly *Moſes*, and *Aaron*; *turn the Waters into bloud, and ſmite the earth* with all *plagues as often as they will.*

But when the three yeers and an half of their Propheſie in Sackcloth is expired, then the Beaſt, the falſe Prophet there reſident *ſlayes them*, ſlayes them indeed; after which, their dead bodies lie juſt three dayes and an half in the ſtreet of *Jeruſalem*, which is here meant by the *great City Spiritually called* Sodom *and* Egypt, *Where alſo our Lord was crucified*; where for that ſpace, the ſeverall Nations at that time there meeting, ſhall look upon the dead bodies of theſe two Witneſſes: During which time, the miſled inhabitants ſhall *rejoyce, and make merry, and ſend preſents, becauſe now got rid of theſe two Prophets* that did in their life time miſerably tormented them.

But after thoſe three dayes and an half, they riſe up from the dead, after this, aſcend up to heaven in a cloud; whereupon there being a great earth-quake, the tenth part of *Jeruſalem* falls, ſeven thouſand men ſlain, all of it to be underſtood in the letter; and all this to be done toward the end of the ſixth Trumpet.

Thus you have the Interpretation: Now if any ask the reaſon why the letter is ſo exactly kept to, and this whole Propheſie of the Witneſſes underſtood to be fulfilled in the letter; 'tis this in the generall: This part of the Propheſie, I mean all that which appertains to the Witneſſes, is not ſhewn the Prophet in a Viſion, but reported to him of the Angel, as an Interlocuter ſpeaking all this to him by word of mouth. For this is a Rule; Look what things are preſented to the ſight, by ſimi-

litudes, and images, thoſe are all to be underſtood myſtically; But the things that are repreſented to the ear, whether in proper or figurative terms, unleſſe neceſſity enforce, are to be underſtood hiſtorically, and in the letter.

This in the generall: But now further, Why [*the one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes of the Witneſſes Propheſie in Sackcloth*] are to be underſtood in the letter; Why the [*great City*] means [*Jeruſalem*] and the like: you theſe have reaſons in particular:

Firſt, For the *one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes*] to be conceived juſt *three yeers and an half* properly; There are theſe reaſons offered: 1. This time falls out toward the end of the ſixth Trumpet; now to conceive one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeers to come in toward the end of the ſixth Trumpet, how abſurd, how impoſſible. 2. This term is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the term of that laſt, and moſt cruell perſecution, of the laſt and worſt Antichriſt, the ſame alſo with that moſt unparalell'd time of trouble mentioned at the 12 *Dan.* 1. *Such as never was ſince there was a Nation:* which if ſo, it cannot be ſo long as that which the myſticall Interpretation contends for, but muſt be only three yeers and an half properly and in the letter ſo taken: according to which account, the two Witneſſes may well be two ſingle perſons alſo.

The reaſon why the *turning waters into blood*, and *ſmiting the earth with all plagues* be to be underſtood in the letter alſo, beſides that in the generall before mentioned, is becauſe ſome ſuch thing as this, is expected to be done about the time of the Converſion of the Jews; ſo you finde, *Mich.* 7. 15, 16. *According to the dayes of thy coming out of the Land of* Egypt, *will I ſhew unto him marvellous things: The Nations ſhall ſee and be confounded*, &c.

And then the reaſon, why theſe *two Witneſſes*, who alſo are called *two Prophets*, together with the *falſe Prophet*, have all of them reference to the *Jews*, being all of them to reſide there, is this, becauſe whereſoever you finde mention of Prophets, whether true, or falſe, there is ſtill a reference had unto the Jews, to whom only it was peculiar, and their great priviledge, to be furniſhed with the Miniſtery of extraordinary Prophets.

And

And then laſtly the reaſons, why *Jeruſalem* is here to be underſtood by *the great City*, and not *Rome* (as is commonly conceived; are firſt, becauſe theſe two are expreſly diſtinguiſhed at the 16 Chapter of this Propheſie, and 18, 19, verſes, where you finde the great City, that is, *Jeruſalem, is divided into three parts*, and *great Babylon*, that is, *Rome* comes into remembrance, being there mentioned as two diſtinct places. Beſides, *Rome* is no where in Scripture called *Sodom* and *Egypt*, but *Jeruſalem* is: *Sodom* 'tis called, *Iſai.* 1. 10. and *Egypt* it is called, *Ezek.* 23. 18, 19: And further, *Rome* was not the place where our Lord was crucified, but *Jeruſalem*, and therefore when 'tis here ſaid, [*The Witneſſes dead bodies lye in the ſtreet of the great Citie*] *Jeruſalem* is this place where they lye dead, where alſo the falſe Prophet hath his reſidence: and when tis ſaid [*The tenth part of the Citie falls,*] it means the tenth part of *Jeruſalem* falls.

And now you have together with the Interpretation, the reaſons (as I could meet with them) which this Interpretation chiefly leans upon. If the Preſſe would have but reſpighted me a little, I had not only barely propounded this Interpretation, with the reaſons, but had ſpoke my thoughts thereto alſo: But ſince I can procure leave but only to propound, the Printer thinking long till the diſcourſe be gotten abroad; ſuffice it that I have propoſed it, hereby giving others an occaſion to examine, and upon examination, either to receive, or refuſe, as it ſhall be able to abide the tryall; I having the opportunity only to bring it in *Medio*, where alſo I muſt leave it.

---

## Errata.

Good reader amend theſe faults of the Preſſe, which could I have tended upon, might happily have been prevented.

Pag. 4. Line 7. for *ſtate* read *fate*, p. 10. l. 6. for *Church-worſhips*, read *Church, worſhips*, p. 13. l. 24. for *come when:* r. *come: when*, p. 22. l. 23 for *thoſe* r. *theſe*, p. 28. l. 21. for *theſe* r. *thoſe*, l. 37. for *it however*; r. *it; however*, p. 31. l. 23. for πλεσσωσι r. πλήσσωσι, p. 40. l. 8. for *from* r. *for*, p. 49 l. 23. for *former, whereof* r. *former whereof*, p. 63 l. 3. for *honour have*, read *have honour*, p. 68. l. 16. for *theſe* r. *the*, p. 71. l. 10. for πεῦγμα r. πεφύγμα, p. 73. l. 2. for *Train* r. *Rain*, p. 75. l. 21. for *ends with it*, r *ends, with it*, p. 80 l. 31. for *fifteenth* r. *thirteenth*, p 81. l. 14. for *the* r. *that*, p. 82. l. 10. for *to* r. *two*, p. 88. l. 14. for *thing* r. *ſecond thing*.

*FINIS.*

# Cheap-side Crosse censured and condemned BY A LETTER SENT

From the Vicechancellour and other Learned Men of the famous Vniversitie of *Oxford*, in answer to a question propounded by the Citizens of *London*, concerning the said CROSSE, in the yeere 1600, in which yeer it was beautified,

As also some divine Arguments taken out of a Sermon against the CROSSE, a little after it was repaired,

By a learned and godly Minister, sometimes Preacher at *Alhallows Lombardstreet*.

2 CHRON. 31.1.

*All Israel that were present, went out to the Cities of Iudah, and brake the Images in pieces, &c. untill they had vterly destroyed them all.*

---

April 29 LONDON, 1643

Printed by *A. N.* for *I. R.* and are to be sold at his Shop in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1643.

# Cheap-side Cross

censured and condemned

BY

# A LETTER SENT

From the Vicechancellour and
other Learned Men of the fa-
mous Universitie of Oxford,

in answer to a question proposounded

by the Citizens of London, concern-
ing the said CROSS, in the
yeere 1600, in which yeer
it was beautified,

As also some divine Arguments taken out of
a Sermon against the Cross, a little after
it was repaired,

By a learned and godly Minister, sometimes
Preacher at Salisbury Cathedrall.

2 CHRON. 31.1.

And likewise they brake all the Images in pieces, &c. until they had ut-
terly defaced them all.

---

Printed by A. N. for I. B. and are to be sold at his
Shop in Paul Church-yard, 1641.

# Resolved on this question (being propounded by the Citizens of *London*, Ianuary 23. 1600.) viz.

*Quest.* Whether the Crosse in *Cheapside* should stand or be demolished.

*Ans.* By *George Abbot*, Vicechancellour of *Oxford*, for the yeere above-said, as followes.

CConcerning the question of setting up againe the Crosse or other Crucifix in Cheapside, I am of opinion,

First, that the godly and discreet zeal of the worthy City is much to be commended, who, on just & appasent grounds making a conscience of that which may be scandalous to many good Christians, have not rashly nor tumultuously proceeded therein, but are desirous to be informed by Divines of the Universities (which are under the protection of Almighty God, and her most Sacred Majestie, Schools of the Prophets) what they may, and ought to doe, both unto the honour of Gods Name, and to the feeding of such their brethren as be in doubt.

Secondly, I am fully perswaded, that the everlasting

lasting God in his wisdome hath offered unto this reverend Cittie this occasion, to make tryall of their piety and devotion, whether they doe love the intire service of himselfe withall their hearts, and soules, or no, for which matter, howsoeuer it seeme *prima facie*, to contain nothing of much moment in it, yet now since the expectation of the whole Realme, and Church of *England* is, what will become thereof, it cannot be supposed of lesse consequence, then that either our Religion which is established according unto the Canon of the Scripture, or else that Papistry should receive a wound, and blow thereby.

Being then orderly and fairly demanded my judgment therein, I doe purpose according to the severall circumstances in their severall places, to touch divers things,

Praying that God would guide my Meditations and pen aright, to the glory of his Name, and good of their soules, who desire in this matter to be resolved.

First, in these Crucifixes are resembled God the Father by an old man, the Holy Ghost by a Dove, which are both of them unlawfull in true Divinity, because God is a Spirit, and he himselfe forbids any similitude or shape of himself, when he gave the law, intending that he filleth Heaven and Earth.

Confirmed by *Origen*, who saith, we doe describe with no shape God who is without body, invisible, *Ambrose* saith, God is infinite, unmeasurable, &c.

The Heathens, and *Numa* in *Plutarchs* Lives, did forbid his people to shape out any of their Gods, with the forme of a man.

And this testimony *Clemens Alexandrinus* autho-

riseth.

riseth. Nay, *Thomas Aquinas part.3.q.25.a.3.* But unto God who is without any body, no bodily Images could be set up, because as *Damascen* saith, it is a point of the highest folly or impiety to figure that which is divine, but because God in the new Testament is made man, he may be adored with the bodily Image of himselfe, this *Aquinas* saith.

So Christ (the Frier thinketh) in his humanity may be pictured, and not God.

Long since, some of the choicest learned *Sorbonists* directly say, they desire therefore that Images of the Trinitie should be removed from all publike and private places; because they are forbidden by the Scriptures, by Councils, by many men of excellent worth and holinesse.

This shortly I speak, but who listeth to see more, the refutation of *Bellarmines* Cavils speaking for those Superstitions, as also the judgement of the Fathers, let him read Doctor *Reynolds, de Idolatria.*

Being then that the Image of the Dove for the Holy Ghost was upon the Crosse in Cheapside, and the retayning thereof is unlawfull, yea, one of the highest points of Popery, whereof many learned men of their side are ashamed, I hold it a matter questionlesse in a reformed Church, that the Crosse is in no sort to be set up again, as it is was before with the Dove, lest we should seem to persist in that palpable darknesse of *Egypt.*

And in this point I being undoubtedly and irrefragably resolved, in that same burdensome office of a Christian Magistrate, which now under my Lord I doe beare, did upon sound and mature advice this last Summer burn and consume with fire in the Mar-

ket

ken place of Leyden amongst others a Picture where-in was the Image of God the Father over a Crucifix ready to receive the soul of Christ.

The next considerable matter is for the Crucifix it selfe, what is to be judged of the Image, and whether it may be retained at all.

I doe not certainly finde when the first use in that kinde was taken up amongst men, although *Constantine* did cause somewhat to be made, which represented the two first Letters of Christs Name, as they are written in Greek, and that which hee had made was to be used only in Standards, but in this sort, and to that use, as now commonly is framed, if it had never been began, I think I may boldly say, that the Church had been freed of a great deal of Superstition, which afterwards grew to little lesse then blasphemy.

It is very likely that they that first used it had this to say for it, that there might be an Historicall use to put us in mind of him that died for us, and in as much as sensible and visible things do much affect us, this memoriall might stir our devotion to remember him, by whose stripes we are healed.

Now as this may be the only use thereof, much may be disputed, and held not to be *simpliciter malum*, absolutely evill. So in my opinion, there are far more repugnant, and direct reasons which may make against it altogether, as

First, the wisdome of God, which directed us to all things fit for our salvation, hath given not the least touch nor semblance, directly or by consequence, of any such matter, which might serve to direct us unto Piety: but hath only appointed the

Word

Word to be the measure thereof, and the Sacraments which are visibly (but not so grossly as the Crucifix) presented unto us as resemblances of Christs passion.

Secondly, it implyeth great weakneſſe of faith when we cannot think of our Saviour, either by Meditation, or Prayer, or reading, or hearing the word, or by receiving of the Sacraments, but wee muſt flie unto ſuch meanes, as for the uſe whereof wee have no warrant, but on the other ſide there is much danger, leſt inconveniences ſhould grow thereby.

It was a true obſervation of *Philo Judæus*, that the minds of women are the weaker, and they can preſerve nothing but that which is ſenſible, ſpeaking of Images which they deſire, but note hee aſcriberh it unto weakneſſe in them.

Thirdly, it was a very ready way unto Superſtition, which from a ſmall beginning creepeth on, neither hath it any way more increaſe then in Images, as the Church by lamentable experience hath too too much proved. Images (ſaith *Cyprian*) at firſt were made in honour of them that were dead, but afterwards they became ſacred to their poſterity, & were at firſt taken only for comforts, this was true among the Heathen, and ſo it was among the Chriſtians, who at firſt made them, but offered not to bring them into Churches, yet within a while that alſo was attempted, but to the great griefe and indignation of the godly.

[illegible] nothing into a Church and ſeeing a Picture hanging that had one of the Pictures of Chriſt or ſome Saint, tore it, as being in the Church [illegible]

of he ſent a new veile thither, but that which was then ſo reſiſted by *Epiphanius*, did in proceſſe of time (as the purity of the Profeſſours of the Goſpel decayed) grow ſtronger, ſo that by the time of *Gregory* the Great, Images grew to be ordinary in Churches, yet notwithſtanding hee that was ſo earneſt for the having them, could not like that they ſhould be worſhipped, but even then there were that repugned the opinion of receiving of them into Churches, and ſo defaced the Images themſelves.

*Gregory* diſliked the worſhipping of them, but thoſe that came after him they maynteined the Adoration and worſhip given unto them, appeareth by the ſecond Councill of *Nice*, among many, no doubt, this of Chriſt hanging upon the Croſſe was one of the principall, whereby Superſtition went ſo far, as that it was and is maynteined that the reverence and adoration due unto God himſelfe (called *Latria*) is to be given to the reſemblance of Chriſt on the Croſſe, which is directly laid down by *Thomas Aquinas*, yea, and practiſed in their *Miſſall*.

The perpetuall uſe of their adoration, may be gathered by their Roods in Churches, Crucifixes in windowes, the ſame alſo in their Service Books, and on the backſides of them, where *Mary* and *John* ſtand by Chriſt, by the like in Rings now growne a faſhion, beſides in ſtones and metals, before which many of them doe ſay a large part of their devotions, yea, the moſt ſuperſtitious Papiſts are ready to give veneration thereunto, whereſoever they ſee it ſolemnly ſet up.

I remember in that Colledge where I firſt lived,

a young man was taken praying and beating his breſt before a Crucifix in a window, which cauſed the Maſters and Fellows to pull it down, and ſet up other glaſſe. Which example makes me nothing doubt but that the Croſs in Cheapſide hath many in the twilight and morning early which doe reverence before it.

Beſides *Campian*, whoſe act is famous, or rather infamous for it, and I am informed, that ſo much hath been ſignified by the neighbours, or inqueſt making preſentments, concerning the circumſtances of this cauſe. By all which I do conclude, that it is a Monument of their Superſtition, a great inducement, and may be a ready way unto Idolatry, and that there can be no tolerable uſe of this matter, which may be able for to countervail the dangers and obloquie ariſing upon the reteyning of it, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is perceived, that many evill affected men doe make their advantage from hence to inſinuate into the minds of their credulous hearers, that it is a token of the returne of their faith againe into into this Land, ſince their Monuments are not extinguiſhed in the chiefeſt ſtreet of our greateſt City.

Upon which conſidetations I make no doubt but the religious Magiſtrates are ſufficiently warranted by the Word of God to remove it away, for the Scriptures have laid before our eyes what ought to be done to remaynders of Idolatry, Yea ſhall overthrow their Altars, Pillars, graven Images, &c.

But the deeds of *Hezekiah* being well looked into doth put it out of all controverſie, for when hee ſaw the foule abuſe of the brazen Serpent, hee cauſed it to be defaced, and yet it hath other manner of warrant for it then this, it being commanded by God, e-

rected by *Moſes*, a figure of Chriſt, in divers of which moſt materiall circumſtances this Crucifix is moſt defective.

Divers learned Miniſters then living do report. Though the judgement of both Univerſities was conſulted with about the Croſſe, and both deſired it might be taken down, yet they could not prevaile with B. *Bancroft*, but he would have it re-edified, only with much adoe they overſwayed the Biſhop to leave off the picture of Chriſt on the Croſſe, that was ſet on the top of it. Take notice of the blinde zeale of the Prelate in this buſineſſe.

And here I pray the Reader to obſerve, that I ſay the Magiſtrates are to redreſſe ſuch enormities, for I doe not permit inferiour men to run headlong about ſuch means, and to rend, breake, and teare as well within as without the Churches, which was that that *Luther* reprehended, but the advice and conſent of Superiour powers is to be had herein, that all things may be done decently and in order. In which reſpect I hold it neceſſary that the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London* be ſought unto, who doubtleſſe upon the ſober intention of the Governours of that City will be pleaſed religiouſly and gravely, according unto their manifold wiſdome which God hath given unto them, to looke into the matter, & give inſtructions what is fitteſt to be done.

HEre *Maſter Vicechancellour at large proveth that it was but omiſſion in our firſt Reformers, and that our further reformation would not condemne or vnecke them, but commend, the preſent due occaſion being offered, that it would be as the fact of* Theodoſius *and* Joſias, *that the further they went the more they did ſtill raze remnants of Idolatry, and eſtabliſhed Gods true ſervice, then he ſaith, Man hath not ſought for this opportunity, but God hath rather put it upon the Citie, in as much as the Crucifixe being worne out with time was ready to fall, there was a neceſſity impoſed for taking it downe.*

*Now it is a greater matter to re-edifie a ſcandalous thing then to continue it, in as much as the one implyeth a winking connivance or permiſſion only, but the other intendeth an allowance and ratification, which giveth greater advantage unto the adverſary.*

This

*This he confirmed by* Marcus *Bishop of* Arethuse *in* Constantines *time the Great, and* Julianus *persecuted him after that he refused contribution to the rebuilding of overthrowne Idols Temples, Saying, that it was ungodly to afford one halfpenny to a wicked maker thereof.*

*And out of that Author he citeth one more example of* Nudas *a* Persian *Bishop, pulling downe a Pyren or Temple dedicated to the fire the* Persians *god, and refusing to build it again at* Isdigerdes *the Kings command.*

Theodorets *saying of him, I doe admire him, and thinke him worthy of a garland, for in my opinion it is equall impiety to adore the fire, and to build a Temple to it.*

My advice therefore and judgement in the name of God is, that the Crucifix should not be erected there, but that upon this opportunitie advantage should be taken to give superstition a further blow, which will be very joyous to all that are already sincerely affected, and if there be any who truly love the Gospel, and are not yet so fully perswaded in this point, they also will in mildnesse yield to reason, if the Superiour power shall be pleased to give countenance to this deed of the City.

But if it should be misliked of hollow-hearted Papists, or maligned by professed Recusants, it must be expected and not wondred at.

Now if it shall be demanded what should be set up insteed of the other Monument. I thinke best to be some *Pyramis* or matter of meere beauty, and not any Angell or such like whatsoever, for although in truth that deserveth no reprehension, yet by avoyding of that the mouthes of the Adversaries may be stopped, who would otherwise storme and say, that the Creator

rected by *Moſes*, a figure of Chriſt, in divers of which moſt materiall circumſtances this Crucifix is moſt defective.

Divers learned Miniſters then living do report. Though the judgement of both Univerſities was conſulted with about the Croſſe, and both deſired it might be taken down, yet they could not prevaile with B. *Bancroft*, but he would have it re-edified, only with much adoe they overſwayed the Biſhop to leave off the picture of Chriſt on the Croſſe, that was ſet on the top of it. Take notice of the blinde zeale of the Prelate in this buſineſſe.

And here I pray the Reader to obſerve, that I ſay the Magiſtrates are to redreſſe ſuch enormities, for I doe not permit inferiour men to run headlong about ſuch means, and to rend, breake, and teare as well within as without the Churches, which was that that *Luther* reprehended, but the advice and conſent of Superiour powers is to be had herein, that all things may be done decently and in order. In which reſpect I hold it neceſſary that the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London* be ſought unto, who doubtleſſe upon the ſober intention of the Governours of that City will be pleaſed religiouſly and gravely, according unto their manifold wiſdome which God hath given unto them, to looke into the matter, & give inſtructions what is fitteſt to be done.

*HEre Maſter Vicechancellour at large proveth that it was but omiſſion in our firſt Reformers, and that our further reformation would not condemne or checke them, but commend, the preſent due occaſion being offered, that it would be as the fact of Theodoſius and Joſias, that the further they went the more they did ſtill raze remnants of Idolatry, and eſtabliſhed Gods true ſervice, then he ſaith, Man hath not ſought for this opportunity, but God hath rather put it upon the Citie, for as much as the Crucifixe being worne out with time was ready to fall, there was a neceſſity impoſed for taking it down.*

*Now it is a greater matter to re-edifie a ſcandalous thing then to continue it, in as much as the one impleth a winking connivance, or permiſſion only, but the other intendeth an allowance and ratification, which giveth greater advantage unto the adverſary.*

*This*

*This he confirmed by* Marcus *Bishop of* Arethuse *in* Constantines *time the Great, and* Julianus *persecuted him after that he refused contribution to the rebuilding of overthrowne Idols Temples, Saying, that it was ungodly to afford one halfe-penny to a wicked maker thereof.*

*And out of that Author he citeth one more example of* Nudas *a* Persian *Bishop, pulling downe a Pyren or Temple dedicated to the fire the* Persians *god, and refusing to build it again at* Isdigerdes *the Kings command.*

Theodorets *saying of him, I doe admire him, and thinke him worthy of a garland, for in my opinion it is equall impiety to adore the fire, and to build a Temple to it.*

My advice therefore and judgement in the name of God is, that the Crucifix should not be erected there, but that upon this opportunitie advantage should be taken to give superstition a further blow, which will be very joyous to all that are already sincerely affected, and if there be any who truly love the Gospel, and are not yet so fully perswaded in this point, they also will in mildnesse yield to reason, if the Superiour power shall be pleased to give countenance to this deed of the City.

But if it should be misliked of hollow-hearted Papists, or maligned by professed Recusants, it must be expected and not wondred at.

Now if it shall be demanded what should be set up insteed of the other Monument. I thinke best to be some *Pyramis* or matter of meere beauty, and not any Angell or such like whatsoever, for although in truth that deserveth no reprehension, yet by avoyding of that the mouthes of the Adversaries may be stopped, who would otherwise storme and say, that the Creator

is taken down, and ſuch a Creature is ſet up in the place where hee ſtood; and whereas it is ſaid, that evermore it will be called the Croſſe in Cheap-ſide, yet it may be poſſible that time may weare out the appellation, or if it doe not, the name ſhall hurt no more then the name of *Chriſtmas* or *Candlemas* doth, from which a godly man may make that uſe as to prayſe the Lord, that the matter of theſe Superſtitions are removed, and the name onely remaynes as a memoriall of Gods goodneſſe, who hath done ſo great good things for us. And by reaſon of the ſicknelle and weakneſſe of him who more learnedly and judiciouſly might have reſolved this point, have I not after that hot and haſty humour of ſome men who are moved rather by fancie then reaſon, but after Chriſtian and ſetled looking into the cauſe, and ſatisfying of my owne conſcience, fully therein ſet down my judgement upon the demand propoſed unto me, ſuppoſing that this ſhall alſo give acceſſe unto the honour of God, her Majeſty, the Church of *England*, and that noble Citie, if it be ſo ſet up again as a matter of meere beauty or Pyramide.

But referring the direction, execution, and compleating of all to thoſe honourable perſonages unto whom under our ſacred Sovereigne the Lord hath committed the ordering of ſuch affairs. God Almighty bleſſe us, that wee may ſtill go forward in true Religion, and his holy Spirit direct our thoughts, words and actions; to the honour of his holy Name. AMEN.

George Abbot,

Vicechancellour,

An. 1600.

## *The approbation of Master Vicechancellor's Letter, by five other learned men, then heads of the Universitie.*

WE doe approve as sound and true, the rather becaule hee followeth that which was done with the brazen Serpent after that it was superstitiously worshipped by the people, and wish that the materiall Crosse, now it hath been superstiously adored, and is maynrained by *Mari*, in a Booke dedicated unto her Majesty, and by all the Jesuits and Seminary Priests and all their Scholers this day in *England*, to be worshipped and adored, be not tumultuously taken away, but in the same manner the brazen Serpent was by consent and authority of our gracious *Hezekiahs*, & them whom causes Ecclesiasticall have authorized under her Highnesse.

This only wee adde, that as the example of *Hezekiah* be notably and sufficient to encourage her Majesty and such as be in authority under her zealously to remove such occasions of Idolatry, and to remove them out of the peoples way, for the example of *Gideon* is terrible if they be let alone, and continued still.

Hee erected an *Ephod* in *Ophra* after his victory over the *Madianites*, both to testifie his thankfulnesse unto the true God of *Israel*, for his victory obtained, and also to shew the *Madianites*, that the God whose service in an *Ephod*, without Idoll or Image they did refuse had given unto them, they overthrow, and thus farre *Gideon* is not reproved, but when hee grew old and knew that the people did worship before the *Ephod*, because he would not pull it downe, nor take it away, his posterity was grievously punished after him, and the people became enthralled unto their enemies.

In like manner, the fact of *Constantine*, after his victory over *Maxentius*, in erecting the signe of the Crosse in *Rome*, was commendable, because hee testified his thankfulnesse to Christ crucified for the victory atchieved, and also it openly shewed unto the Heathen and *Gentiles*, who fought against him, that hee whom they so much despised because hee was crucified gave him victory. But now this outward and materiall signe of the Crosse hath been, and is abused to Idolatry and Superstition, therefore if the chief Magistrates erect such things now, when they be well taken away, and if they pull them not downe, when with peace and quietnesse they may be removed, they leave unto the godly a fearfull expectation, as of that which came to passe In *Israel*, after the days of faithfull *Gideon*, for so we call him notwithstanding his grievous fault, for so hee is nanamed. But the danger of such negligence is most carefully to be avoided.

*From the Vniversitie of* Oxenford,
January *the* 23. 1600.

This Letter is in the hand of a Merchant of good credit in this Citie thus subscribed.

*Thomas Thornton. John Reinolds.*
*Leonard Tailor. Henry Ayray.*
*R. Kettley.*

You have heard learnedly proved from Antiquity the unlawfulnesse of this Crosse.

Here follow some arguments from Scripture against Cheap-side Crosse, as they were preached in *Lombard* Street.

THis worthy Minister preaching on *Esay* 10. Vers. 5, 6. Shews diuers signes of Gods wrath against a Nation, among others hee shews this to be one Plague taken.

When God gives over a Land to hainous sins, when hee suffers a Land that hath been delivered from Idolatry, againe to be given up unto Idols. This is a certain signe of Gods wrath against a Land.

For this is a standing rule, that when any Idoll is suffered to bee in a Land, though it be not worshipped; yet it is a remarkable signe, that they are a people of his wrath. See what the Lord saith, *Psal.* 81. 8, 9. *Heare, O my people, and I will testifie unto thee, O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall no strange god be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any strange god.* (Marke) he doth not only say thou shalt worship no strange god, but there shall be no strange god in thee, as the Lord commands them, *Exod.* 34. 12. saying, *Take heed to thy self, that thou make no covenant with the inhabitants of the Land, whether thou goest, lest they be cause of ruine among you: but you shall overthrow their Altars, and break their Images in pieces, and cut downe their groves, for thou shalt bow downe to no other god; because the Lord whose name is* Jehovah *is a jealous God.* For when ever Idols goe before, then certainly warre will follow after, and therefore to suffer an Idoll to be in a Land, although unworshipped is no small sin, as the Lord saith, *Hos.* 6. 10. *I have seen villany in the house of Israel, there is whoredome in Ephraim, Israel is joyned to Idols, let her alone, &c.*

Thus we see how greatly we provoke God to anger, when we suffer an Idoll to be among us.

And though the Lord had formerly freed this Land from Idolatry: Are not the Images of *Baal* againe re-edified among us? this never went before, but a Plague came after it. For by this, if by any thing, a Land breaks covenant, nay, goes about to breake their Marriage bond with God. Therefore may I say to this Land, nay, to you of this Citie, (to goe no further into other places,) where the Word of God is most powerfullly preached among you, that you are in an especially manner guilty of this lowd crying sin. Witnesse the Crosse in Cheap-side, that is lately beautified by you. I am troubled to think how God is exceedingly hath beene provoked, and wrath I feare will be poured out upon you for this same golden Crosse. For whereas the Lord saith, *Isaiah* 30. 22, 23. *Ye shall defile the coverings of your graven Images of silver, and the ornaments of your molten Images of gold, and cast them away as a menstruous cloath, and then shall he give you a great blessing.* You on the other side, have adorned the covering of your Images: now, all men know that the Crosse is that which the Papists make an Idoll of: so you have not stained the covering thereof but have beautified and adorned it. So that as a blessing came on them that stained the covering of their Images, so a curse will most certainly follow the beautifying of the covering of those Images of that

that Crosse. For it is that which doth become a snare unto the Ignorant people: As *Gideon* made an *Ephod of gold*, and put it in his City, *Judges 8. 27. and all Israel went thither, a whoring after it*, which thing became a snare unto *Gideon*, and to his house: And seeing Papists will worship a Crosse at *Rome*, surely they will then worship it also in *England*, and your selves know also what respect hath been shewed to this Crosse, by Popishly affected amongst us. Besides, the beautifying of this Crosse, was a lauishing of your gold. And though you lavished it not on it, as on an Idoll, but as an ornament, yet it being an Idoll, your gold was lavished on it, as on an Idoll. O this Crosse, is one of the Jewels of the Whore of *Rome*, & its left and kept there as a token, And gives them hope, one day, that they shall enjoy its and us again. Therefore this is one of the speciall plague tokens of Gods anger, and it shews this Land in generall, nay, this City in particular, to be a people God is angry with.

What this Reverend man feared then, and was much troubled at in his owne spirit, (as his often expressions yet in the memory of his familiar friends testified) namely, that the wrath and judgments of God shortly would fall down upon this Kingdom and City, we have found, and with sad hearts have cause to acknowledge, having felt the smart of it not only in this the great decay of trade, which hath occasioned the sinking of many chief Citizens amongst us, but that which is more then either our trades or lives, the great decay of the Gospel, the faithfull Preachers therof being hunted out from amongst us, And this religious pious man, a shining light, was enforced in the midst of his days to breath his last in a strange Land.

If more Arguments in this kind are desired, you may read at large a new Treatise of Master *Gurney* against Images, extracted out of the Homilies.

There is not such a superstitious Monument in *Spain*, *France*, no not in *Rome*, nor in any part of the Christian World as this Crosse is, as Travellers report: & that we should gild it, & Papists adore it on their knees, (as many witnesses testifie) is abominable, wee doubtnot but our Worthies in the Honorable Houses of Parliament will take away the memory of it.

FINIS.

The true Copy of a Welch 3

# SERMON

Preached

Before Prince *MAVRICE*

in Wales upon his departure thence,

by *Shon ap Owen*, Priest.

VVherein is desired that Prince *Maurice* would not plunder her Townes and Villages, for they were all poore men and not able to buy her a new Cushion to make her Presch on.

For which Sermon *Iohn ap Owen* was committed to prison, put by her Benefice, and exiled the Country: Whereunto is added *Iohn ap Owens* complaint for her sad losse.

Printed for *I. Vnderwood*. 1643.

2 *Esdras* 7. verses 15, 16.

*Now ther fore, why disquietest thou thy selfe,* (Prince Maurice,) *seeing thou art but a corruptable man? and why art thou moved* (to come into these parts) *whereas thou art but mortall?*
*And why hast thou not considered in thy mind this thing that is come, rather then that which is present?*

HEr Text divides it selfe, or rather falls into three peices of her owne accord, in which words her skill find three generall parts: her first part is the *Terminus ad quo*; her second, *Terminus ad quem*; her third and last part is, *Terminus ad quod*. The *Terminus ad quo* is meant you (Prince Maurice) in these words: *Now therefore, why disquietest thou thy self?* that is, why camest not thou into these her territories to disquiet us? Then the next or second part is, the *Terminus ad quem*, that is, to know who sent for her hither; that is the *quere*. Then followes the third and last part, the *Terminus ad quod*, wherefore and for what end is come for; now Prince *Maurice*, or cousen Prince *Maurice*, which title her loves best, that her desires her to accept of: And now her having formerly brushed her owne Country-mens and omens coats and freeze jerkins, and told them of her faults roundly, for her will have her to know that her Countries podies are not troubled with many gownes, her will with her leave, and her owne priviledge being a Preacher, rub and brush her coats also Prince *Maurice*; and first her will begin with her habit, and tell her of her owne faults and imperfections in her garments, or arrayment; her cannot call her coate her weares now, nor give it no better a terme then even a smocke of *Rome*, a riding coate, a Cavaliarisme, or Antiprotestatisme coate, full of Idolatrous Romanificall buttons, so thicke set in a popish ceremonious way, that even it is abhomination to her sight; nor is this all her must tell her good Prince *Maurice*, for her will be bold to informe

forme her name, that first the name of *Morice* came out of this rude, ancient, honourable Principallity of Wales, and it tooke her first originall from Morice-dancers, or one that did rise and caper oftner then her fellowes, and so called *Morice*, or *Maurice*, by God, her country her can tell, never proved false but were honest true Trojans, faithfull to her Kings and Queenes, and all her Princes: that is a credit for her owne Country, for her doth remember when her was but a Batchelour of Art, there was a true proverbe went up and downe her Country that is this: Three Welch-men, two soulders, three English-men, two theeves; three French-men, two Traytors; three Spaniards, two whore-masters; three Italians, two Inglers; three Dutch-men, two Drunkards: which plainely shewes that you being a Dutch-man is most subject to bee intoxicated, *ergo*, overcome, or subject to her passions and her humours; for let her but aske her one question, nay, now her is in her Pulpit, her is in a place of Sanctuary, and may boldly talke her pleasure, what a Tivell made her to come into the Welch Alpes with her Troopers, and her Dragoneers, and her Pioneers, and her Ingineers? what, doe her thinke to undermine her Mountaines, & throw downe her huge pig hils, and lay them levill like her Lowcountries; no her warrant her; so much shall serve for her *Instruction* to the Text, to her cousen Prince *Maurice*; now suffer her to tell her a word of *reproofe*, which is this; *Terminus ad quem*, and last of all a word or two of *admonition* or *advice*, and then her will have done: As her said before, what a Tivell made her come me, first come into *England*, secondly into her Kingdom of *Wales*, can't her not be content to stay at home in her owne Country, at the University of *Leyden*, a place her have heard of, but indeed-law her was never there; *Leyden* should be a place of dulnesse, or heavinesse, like Lead, which word *Leyden* is taken from *Lead*, for lead is the first Usable to *Leyden*, that is, one that is heavy heeled, or hath lead in her shooes, I say, why did not her stay there, who sent for her hither? her sies againe and again, who sent for her hither? will her not answer? then her will declare, that it was *malice* and *envy*, two of the eldest sons of the great Tivell, againe. what moved her to come in this warlike manners, has her any cause? was her not well used at *Leyden*, had her not good Apparells, had her not good victuals, had her not good Hodg-podge *wine-boire* there? had her not good educations and institutions in all the liberall Sciences; had her not there a schoole of war to exercise

her valours in, but her must come into *England*, and there spoile and plunder, burne and deface whole Townes and Villages; and bring her brave Country of *England*, the very fine Country of *England* to destruction, and to want Bread corne, and Barley corne; Sirrah, sirrah her have heard that most of her victuals, as Beere, Corne, Mutton, Veale, nay even her apparrels that her have formerly worne hath bin sent her out of *England* to relieve her and the rest of her brethren when her was not able to helpe her selfe, but must have lived meanely, and gone with many a hungry belly to bed, and rose againe with as good an appetite as when her laid her downe and slept upon it; And her doe thus ungratefully require poore England, to kill her men and owens, her fathers and her mothers, which often contributed out of her yearly meanes to help her, when her was as low as the bowle that runs in the Bowling-alley, who meets with many rubs by way; I say poore England, did help to succour her, when her was not able to helpe her selfe, no not wipe her arse; her might have kept her as her have said at Leyden in *Dutch-land*, and have made her self a Captaine, and gone against *Jack-Spaniard*; there her should have found good causes and considerations for taking up of her armes, and for killing of men, there her eyes, her should have been honoured of all the English Nation who had heard of her valours and her courages, or her should have gone with her sword into Ireland, and with her dexterious hand and inchanted body, have endeavoured to quell and refrigerate the hot Irish Rebells, whose cruelty and inhumanity no British Chronicle her can find in her country, nor in her own liberty, can parallell: There her must confesse her had gone and steered a right and a good course, even by the compasse of Christianity, but this course that her now takes is Diabolicall and Satanicall, and prophane; nay her will tell her her owne; and tell *Belzephon* which is the chief Tivell in hell, her faults if her meet her in her way, and lay her lyes in her teeth if it be a lye; So may her tell her *Addevice*, that her is in a malignant and capitall fault, in such a grosse and barbarous manner exercised, that if her had one of her chiefe Shudges here, her would apprehend her, and bring a bill of *Scandala Magnatum* against her, and issue out a *Fiery Facias* against her; and by that means forfeit all her goods and lands by a *premunire*: So much shall serve for my first reproofe for England, sweet England, honey England, which is the *Terminus ad quem*; now suffer another word of the reproofe for

her

her comming in Wales, in this her posture and warlike manner, wch is her *Termini ad quem*. And first, what did her meane to come into her borders, to spoile her brave orchards and gardens, her Cider and her Perry trees, what did her meane to do, to mar and change all her very good pippins and pennywaters into crabs, and all her excellent Hartichoak, into thistles, and all her leeks and onions into brambles and thorns, and make it as barren as the place from whence her come; do her mean by her guns and her cruelties to destroy all her cattells and her welch venisons, and fine plack Cowes, that her should have no butter nor toasted cheese, or Cowsl-bobby; her do think that her do mean to make all things so dear in her Kingdom of Wales, as it is amongst your Butter boxes; as to make her pay double or trecle for all her eates or drinks or wears, and that her shall in Wales feed as her did in Holland upon rootes, and carrets, and onions, and hodg podg, that is, all sorts of hearbs sod together, which fils the Dutchmans hungry belly very well, as a little wh y doth our hogs bellies in our barns or stables; a turd is as good and farre wholsomer for a Sow then a Pan-pudding. No good Prince *Maurice*, her shall not be suffered, her shall shew her no such *Hocus Pocus* tricks, to do such ungodly deeds, and be suffered to run on in *her* wilfulnesse; *her* has brave spirits in Wales left yet, though *her* left many brave souldiers at Kenton battels, and *her* have long poles with pikes or welch hooks at the end, such as can pull *her* to *her*, or put *her* from *her*, for *her* will tell *her* Prince *Maurice*, if *her* do not go hence speedily, *her* souldiers will be beaten to pieces, and her self hugged worse then the chiefest Tivell *Belzebub* did hug the witch, which will make her colour the long seams of *her* hose, worse then new three penny ale cloth, or a purge of *vnx vomica* given in a potion; *her* tell *her*, *her* has valiant men in *Wales* such as shall fisk *her* Toby for *her*, and tickle *her* galligascoins, marke *her* that now, *her* will warrant *her* shall make all *her* words good; therfore her say be gone, be gone her say young men; for *her* do hold *her* but a monster, because *her* teech is longer then *her* beard, be gone her advises her with *her* pog and paggage, and the rest of *her* lumbers; *her* cannot endure these farting guns, nor these fisling pistols, nor this stinking powder which shoot nothing but pullets, and kill her Countreymen three or foure furlongs off; and then *her* is dead before *her* knows who hurt *her*, or can say *her* prayers or make *her* wills: therefore *her* gives *her* faire warnings, Prince *Maurice*, to be forthwith gone out of her Territories, and trudg home, and keep *her* good Queen *her*

mother company, as her elder brother the Palsgrave doth, & he then may become an honest man, and it may be a good bowler. Her Countrey-men cannot endure to bee plundered and robbed of her goods and parrels, nor of her cattels and vendome; her believes her would kisse where her face a Sunday, if her had such fat goodly cattells as her has in Wales; in your Dutch land Country: but her hopes her cattells have more wit then to range out of their Country or from their Masters house, then to be enticed over sea with her when her goes; God send her good shipping; her cattell will her hope have more wit, and find lead in her feet, rather then go to Leyden, if such a motion were made, or such a patent granted to any projector: so her should have done Prince Maurice, if he had had any wit or money: But her shall be cozoned as her Grandam dog was: her will tell her plainly her has no mony nor plate in Wales, and her parish is very poor, that her lives in, and her is the Parson of it; for her cannot put up at the quarters end not above ten groats at the most.

Doe her but looke here, her Parishoners are not able to buy or allow her a new Cushion for her Pulpit, see how many holes and rents are in her Cushion; see how her feathers fly about, and how the Cony wool flyes about her bares; her is not able to afford her a new coat but once in two or three yeares; what did her meane to come hither? by God, her whole Country is very poore, and her should be in a very bad condition if her had not good store of tyth Pigge, Hens, Capons, Eggs, and such like, her should not know how to shift with her wives and children; so much shall be enough which her hath spoken for the Text, which is the *Terminus ad quem*, that is, wherefore, and for what her *is* come for into Wales, which her has told her sufficiently off, and her hopes will take notice and amend.

Now a word of Admonition, and so her will conclude, and that is this; her doe wish her Prince *Maurice* to goe her wales home quietly into her owne Country, goe her seyes young Prince *Maurice* home to her good Lady and Mother, as her have said before, for every honest man will doe as her is bidden, as her elder brother Prince *Charles* doth, and comfort her, who is very sorry to her knowledge, to heare how her doth abuse her selfe and her Country of *England*; her good Lady and Mother is very heartily sorry for her misdeeds, goe home young Prince *Maurice*, and be obedient to her deare Mother, her hath sent for her two times already, and if her doe not go before the third

time

time of sending, hee will tell her plainely, that Prince *Maurice* is a Canary-bird, and hee will take two Tivels and bid her take him Tivels take him; and if her Tivels has taken her they will so torment her bodies, that her would have wished her had never come into England nor Wales, to fire, plunder, and rob all her neeres; and so her leaves her to her owne considerations and consciences, to apply all these sayings to her selfe: and her commits her prince *Maurice* to Dinner, because hee smells the Roast meat and pyes piping hot, which stairs for her upon the Table: and so her will end as her at first begun, that is with hot Teare; Now therefore, why disquietest thou thy selfe, (Prince *Maurice*) seeing thou art but a corruptable man? and why art thou moved (*to come into these parts*) whereas thou art but mortall: And why hast thou not considered in thy mind this thing that is come rather then that which is present *Esdras* 7. Verse 15, 16. Prince *Maurice* was very angry at this Welch-mans Sermon, and the Doctrines he made of it: commanded the Priest to bee committed to close prison, and that there should be another Parson chose in *John ap Owens* place; and withall commanded that the said Priest should bee banished the Country, and never to preach more in Welch; whereupon *John ap Owen* hearing of this sentence tooke it very patiently, and intends to come up to London and complaine to the House about this his cruell sentence; and in the interim falling into a merry Poeticall vaine writ these few lines, lamenting his hard fortune; called, *Alas poore Welsh Priest whither wilt thou goe.*

## *To the tune of alasse poore Scholler.*

IN a melancholy madnesse
Being all alone,
Her fell into deepe sadnesse;
After twelve yeares teaching,
And daily preaching,
Her parish so unkind is grown
After all her Sermons,
made in new fashion'd rages
Wherein her quoted Plutarke
and many Latin sages;
Her selfe is now uncasured
turned out of her Personages.
Alas poor Welch Priest whether &c.

Farewell her Countrey Village
and little Church,
In this malignant ill age
Her tithe of rotten eggs
And Pigs with leane legs,
Will leave her in the lurch.
For now her parish
and Prince *Maurice* have intention
To slight poore *Owen*
and his good invention,
And take away their Curates
twenty nobles pension,
Alas poor Welch Priest, &c.

Yet

Yet it is known that Sir *Owen*
when he ſpake on,
Doctrines there was no Doein,
From top to bottom
Preaching while the pot's on,
Fire boyld their Beefe and Bacon.
And in cold weather
her have often ſtood there,
Making long preachments
that exceeding good were,
But now like to her Pulpit
they ſay they made of wood were,
Alas poor Welch Prieſt, &c.

But *Owen* knows the reaſon
why her pariſh hate,
Her learning at this ſeaſon,
And diſ-repect her
Becauſe no Tub-lecture,
Her hath made to them of late
But let them take
her gown from her and bang her,
Nay let them take
poor *Owen* and halfe hang her
For ſuch mad Lectures,
her will never dam her,
Alas poor welſh prieſt, &c.

In a Conventicle chamber
they aloud do prate,
Beſides which is far ſtranger,
They often babble
In a barne or ſtable,
Againſt the King and State
Ignorant Coblers,
Joyners and Shoomakers
In ſetting ſoules upright
will be all pareakers,
But *Owen* ſcorneth much
To be one of theſe Wiſe-acres.
Alas poor welſh prieſt &c.

Yet now her think ſhe better,
they have the beſt place
That do know never a letter
Their holy ſiſter
When they have kiſt her,
Doth give them their grace.
They tickle women
with action and Tub-ſpeeches,
And by their praying
Do get both wives and riches.
Her can get no gowne,
no cloake nor yet no breeches.
Alas poor welch prieſt, &c.

Now that *Owen* is caſhiered
what ſhall her do,
By women her is woed
Her thought to have dyed,
In bell-ropes tyed,
Halter-wiſe to tell her tale
But though her welch ſpeech,
do not ſound ſo ſweetly,
Her will make her language
ſound for greek moſt meekly,
And for teaching Schollers
get two pences ſtill weekly.
Alas poore welch prieſt, &c.

So, ſo ſo, her hath tricks now,
In her poore brayne
*Owen* will by her wits now
Both goe in freeze,
Eate bread and cheeſe;
A Schoole ſhall her maintain,
Her will not from Wales
remove her ſteps or ſtation
Or in new England raile
againſt her King and Nation
But for a ſeaſon
will leave all predication, (be ſo.
Alas poor welch prieſt it muſt needes

FINIS.

# Victory Proclaymed,

IN AN EXACT

# RELATION

Of the Valiant proceedings of the Parliament Forces in their Seige before

# READING,

*From* Aprill 15. *to* 27.

As it was writ in two Letters, and sent to some Citizens in *London*, from those who were eyewitnesses of the same.

---

Psal. 115. 1.

*Not unto us O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name give glory, &c.*

Psal. 47.

*Clap your hands (all ye people) shout unto God with the voyce of Tryumph.*

*LONDON:*

Printed for *Benjamin Allen*, in *Popes-head-Alley*. Aprill 29. 1643.

1

# A true Relation of the Siege at *Reading*, from the first to the last.

IFteene *Aprill* late at night we sate down before *Reading*, being Saturday at night, the next morning by Sun rising the fight began very hot both by them and us, and so continued all that day and night, and the next day and night, after that the fight somewhit abated, but held on though with much temperance, for on their side it appeared afterwards, it was because they were necessitated through want of powder, which the enemy supplied by a Barge in the night, and put in it three or foure hundred men, but this was but a little quantity, for on Friday night last they attempted to relieve it by the same way with 1500. men, but with 500. of ours we beat them back againe, so that they mist of their ends then. At the Lord day at night we sent out a Party of Horse, and beat up their Quarters at *Dorchester*, where lay a Regiment of Horse, and another of Foot, where we tooke 100. Horse and 50 Foote, and killed some without any losse at all. Then on Tuesday morning *Reading* men hung out their white Flag for a Parley, and we sent them 3. Hostages and they sent us three, to treat

about the yeelding up of the Town, and as they have ever done while they were Treating, the King came with all his Forces both Horſe and Foot and Dragooners, and Cannons on the other ſide of the water, where we had but one Regiment of Foot, and fell in upon them, and gave them foure Cannon ſhot, and a whole peale of ſhot before our men knew it; notwithſtanding the great Orderer of allthings ſo preſerved our men, that it did no more unto them but awaken them, ſo as they rowſed like Lyons, for though the Kings Forces had the hill and this great advantage, yet our men ſoone got it from them, and whether it was the ſtorme, or our Bullets (for there was a great one) they were in three houres routed, and had a hundred men, ſome of their chiefe Commanders ſlaine, and 400. wounded, and we tooke 300. Armes, and purſued them, ſo that they retreated faſter then they came on, and we loſt but ſix men. And this day the forces of *Reading* are to yeeld up the Towne and march away with their Colours flying, and I hope we ſhall not now be long from *Oxford*, for we are now about 20000. Foot and Horſe, and there we expect to meet Sir *William Wallers*, my L. *Grays*, and Sir *Iohn Gells*, forces, which conſiſts of about 7 or 8 thouſand, ſo that I believe the King will away to the North. What cauſe have we to bleſſe the Lord for his miraculous defending and protecting his? for it was never knowne, (as our old Souldiers ſay) that in ſuch a Proteous they being ſo neare there was no more killed.

From

## *From the Leaguer before* READING,
### *Tuesday Night after 12. a Clocke Aprill 25.*

SIR,

CONcerning the passages of this Day, I am sure you will heare many Reports, but that you may bee truly informed of Gods wonderfull working for us, and not deceived by falshoods, I make bold to trouble you with a word or two, wherein I shall relate nothing but what I was an eye witnesse of: Our Regiment having the charge of *Casum* Bridge, on a Batterie which we made betweene the Bridge and *Redding*, wee were almost a mile remote from the rest of our Forces, and in hourely expectation of another Army of the Kings, to come upon our backes, and therefore wee lay in no little danger, but yet our souldiers being confident of Gods presence and powerfull protection, were full of courage, & rather wished then feared, the aproch of the Enemy, which we could not have certain intelligence of, by our Horse Scouts, (so ill did they discharge their duty) till the enemy appeared in a great body of horse upon a hill, at foure of the Clocke in the afternoone, within lesse then halfe a mile of the Bridge: But such was *Gods* goodnes to us, that our *souldiers* were in a present readines, Foure Companies to Man the workes at the battery, and to watch the Bridge, the other six Companies being bravely led on by our field Officers, Marched joyfully to meet the Enemy, and tooke the best advantage wee could get of the hedges and high wayes, God also being pleased to give us a great advantage of the wind.

At our first comming at the foot of the hill where

our enemy ſtood, we were ſaluted with their Cannon ſhot, but bleſſed be God without any execution: by and by, a great body of their Foot appeared; and (to give them their due) they came on with a great deale of reſolution upon us, and then our men (with as much courage as I thinke was ever ſhewed) begun to fire, and ſtood to it as bravely for the ſpace of one houre and a halfe, ſome fiered their Muſquets 30. times, yet ſuch was Gods wonderfull goodneſſe to us, that we loſt but five men that I can heare of, and ſo neere as I can gueſſe twice as many wounded, which I hope will recover ſhortly. Our Colonell Bartlay was ſhot in the Arme: But as ſoone as he was dreſt, he was as active as before, I heard him incourage the ſouldiers, whileſt they were fighting, and told them hee was wounded but well againe, and indeed I hope hee will be ere long. Captaine *Leet* and his Lieutenant are both ſhot in the Legge, but very cheerefull, all the reſt both of the wounded and ſlaine were common Souldiers, many of our wounded ſay their wounds have brought them more joy and comfort then ever they had in their lives. Truly Sir I ſhall never forget the mercy of this day, I never ſaw a greater experiment of Gods power, and providence in protecting thoſe that put their truſt in him, and in upholding the ſpirits of weake creatures in ſuch an eminent danger, for was it not a wonder that ſixe Companies ſhould be able to ſtand againſt an Army of Horſe and Foote, for we were no more a great while untill we were relieved by my Lord *Robert* his Regiment. I could heare nothing but incouraging words from the Souldiers one to another, ſome ſaying God fighteth for us; God will preſerve us, God will make good his promiſe to us, to cover our heads

in the day of Battell &c. And when the Enemy fled, very many cryed out, let God have all the Glory, yea ſo let us all ſay, *Not to us, not to us, but unto God, the Lord of Hoſts be all the Glory.*

Of the enemy I told dead in the place 42. men, all luſty able men as I have ſeene, the fields lay very full of Armes, both of Muſquets and Pikes, which we preſently brought off. One Serjeant Major *Smith*, lay amongſt the Slaine (as appeared by his Commiſſion.) It i reported that there are dead and wounded within three miles of this place, above 300. Men, this the Country-men report. Thus at this time, it pleaſed God to let us ſee our deſires upon our Enemies: and ſo let al the curſed enemies of Jeſus Chriſt periſh, that the good works of Reformation begun, may goe unto perfection: that the Lord Ieſus Chriſt may have the glory and be exalted upon his throne to great joy & comfort of all his Saints. Here is great diſtraction in our Army, for that we feare an unworthy accord will bee agreed upon between our Councell of Warre and the Town: but I have not yet received any ſuch informations concerning it, that I dare write any thing of the particulars: The Lord in mercy direct their Counſells to his glory.

On *Saturday* night laſt, our Regiment did encounter with ſome of the Kings Army, which came to bring a ſupply of ammunition to the Towne. But wee beate them backe, ſo that this is the ſecond time God hath wrought for, and by, our Regiment, Bleſſed be his name. Furthernow, this 27. of *Apr:* 1643. being Thurſday, the Enemy marched forth of *Reading*, about 4. of the clock in the after noone with bag and baggage, and becauſe the Souldiers ſeemed diſcontented with the termes of agreement

greement, his Excellency to prevent them from pillaging the Enemy, promiſed them twelve ſhillings a piece. The enemy had many Trulls following them. They had eight Regiments of Foote, and halfe a Regiment of Horſe, and Dragoons, moſt of them beare and beggerly Rogues, being being fearefull of the *Parliaments* Forces, gave them very good words, ſome of them confident of their deceived Condition, others convinced of the falſeneſſe of their Cauſe, have reſolved never more to aſſiſt the King againſt the *Parliament*: and for the manner of their departing out of *Reading*, in briefe it was thus:

Colonell *Auſtin* came firſt out in a Horſlitter, covered with red, and lined with white, after him both Coaches and Wagons, and then the Horſe and Foot beate a March, and ſo departed with their (White, Blew and Red) Colours flying, towards *Oxford*, by *Caſum Church*; his Excellence the Lord Generall intending to follow after them, this Saturday being the 30. of this inſtant moneth.

BRITISH MUSEUM

*FINIS.*



E 100/5

# THE Last ioyfull Intelligence FROM His Excellency HIS QUARTERS IN READING:

VVherein is contained, the Propositions of agreemcnt, upon which the town was delivered, with the manner of the delivery, how they marcht away without their Ordnance, and the true estate of his Excellencies Army at this present.

*Faithfully related in two Letters sent from good hands in the Army, to a person of good quality in the City, bearing date* Aprill 27. 1643.

LONDON,

*Aprill* 29. Printed for *Thomas Watson.* 1643.

# The laſt Intelligence from his Excellency his Quarters at *Reading*, ſince the ſurrendring up of the town.

SIR, To inform you of the whole proceedings ſince we came to this town, we underſtand the ſtate of it, knowing it to munition; the Welchmen have already feaſted with a horſe or two, and thoſe lean ones, in regard that horſe-meat hath much failed of late, which occaſioned an endeavour of the Horſe to go away on Saturday night; but but they were ſtopt by the Foot: ſo likewiſe for their ammunition, they want powder, but bullets more, ſhooting very ſeldome, and very ſtrange ſhot, as ſtones, & ſuch like. The Governour is by all ſorts confeſſed to be wounded; ſome ſay, ſhot in the neck, others, bruiſed by the fall of a ſtone from a houſe, but

he is ſo ill, that he executes not his place, which cauſes much confuſion and diſtraction among them. Some of the Town have come out, and informed us to this purpoſe, & that they had an intent to leave the town; which it's like enough they would have done, had it not been as hazardous as their ſtay, in regard of our Quarters. We took priſoner on Sunday morning a ſervant of Sir LEVVIS DIVES, who was ſent to give the Town notice of ammunition coming to them; he ſwam over the river and back again, but was intercepted, and the Supply was prevented by ſome Troupes of horſe of ours, and Colonel BARKLAYS Regiment, and 200. of Colonell HOLBORNES, who lay in the way about Caveſham: We likewiſe tooke a fellow equally guilty of folly and knavery; he was once of the Lord ROBERTS his Regiment, and ran away to the enemy, and was now hired to blow up our Magazine, as himſelf confeſſes, but knew no way, as he ſays, but to throw a light match into a barrell, ſuppoſing he ſhould have found

one open; he was to have had five pound for his paines, but now instead of that a halter. Yesterday hearing that the King was advancing this way to the relieve of the Towne with what Force he could make up, which is not much in the absence of his Parties: We sent a strong Party of Horse and Dragooners, under the command of Colonell MIDDLETON, who at a place called Dorchester, seven or eight miles from Oxford, surprized the Kings Regiment of Foot, now again under the command of Colonell WIL. VAVASOUR, that man of honour, by whose losse if we can gain so much wilsdome as to trust no more of them upon their lost reputation, we shall make a good bargain; who, though he was not there present, his Captain and Lieutenant were taken, the Standard againe indangered, about 100. horse taken, and sixty or thereabouts (some say more) slain, and about 50. prisoners; and Captain WATSON the Kings Gentleman Harbinger was taken providing for the Kings march that way.

On

On tuesday the town hung out a white flag, and sounded for a parley, which was answered by the Lord Generalh, then they sent hostages from the town, and we did the like, which done; a councell of warre was called, which met in Sir Francis Knowles his House. where after consultation concerning the said Treaty, these Propositions his Excellency condiscended to, viz.

1. That the Forces in that town should surrender up the town to the King and Parliament.

2. That they should march directly to Oxford, without doing any act of hostility.

3. That they should leave behind them in the town ten pieces of Ordnance.

4. That the said Forces should free those which they had taken prisoners.

Which being fulfilled, his Excellency promised them a free passage to Oxford, with Bag and Baggage, allowing them six houres time to march away in.

We had a skirmish with the Kings Forces dnring the Treaty, where we slew nere 200. of them, with the losse of 6. men, and they were forced to flie to save themselves, not being able to hold us play.

Sir

SIR,

THis is to certifie you of a truth, that the King came to *Dorchester* on Tuesday last, and the town of *Reading* was yeelded up on Thursday at 12. of the clocke, and they were to march with bag and baggage, with their Colours displaying, with about three thousand souldiers, with foure small Drakes and ten Waggons, and the Earle of *Essex* about three of the clock entred the towne, with Colonell *Hampden* and Serjeant-Major *Skippon*, to view the towne, and three of their Commanders came to view our Army, and it is supposed that our Army will advance after them, for our men were very eager to fall on them as they marched out, but that my Lord Generall (to satisfie them) promised to give every

every ſouldier twelve ſhillings a peece, and is to be paid on the firſt of May, being Munday, but my Lord Generall is very unwilling to let many of his ſouldiers enter the town, for feare the towne ſhould be undermined, till they have made further ſearch, for the ſafeguard of our men. Our Regiment is quartered in the Out-works. I have no more to write to you at this time. The next (I hope) ſhall be from *Oxford*. Farewell.

The King is returned to *Oxford* this day.

From our Camp at *Reading*,
Aprill 27 afternoon, 1643.

Your loving Couſin,
*John Alexander.*

N
H
C
W
A

G.

# A MOST MIRACULOUS AND HAPPY VICTORY

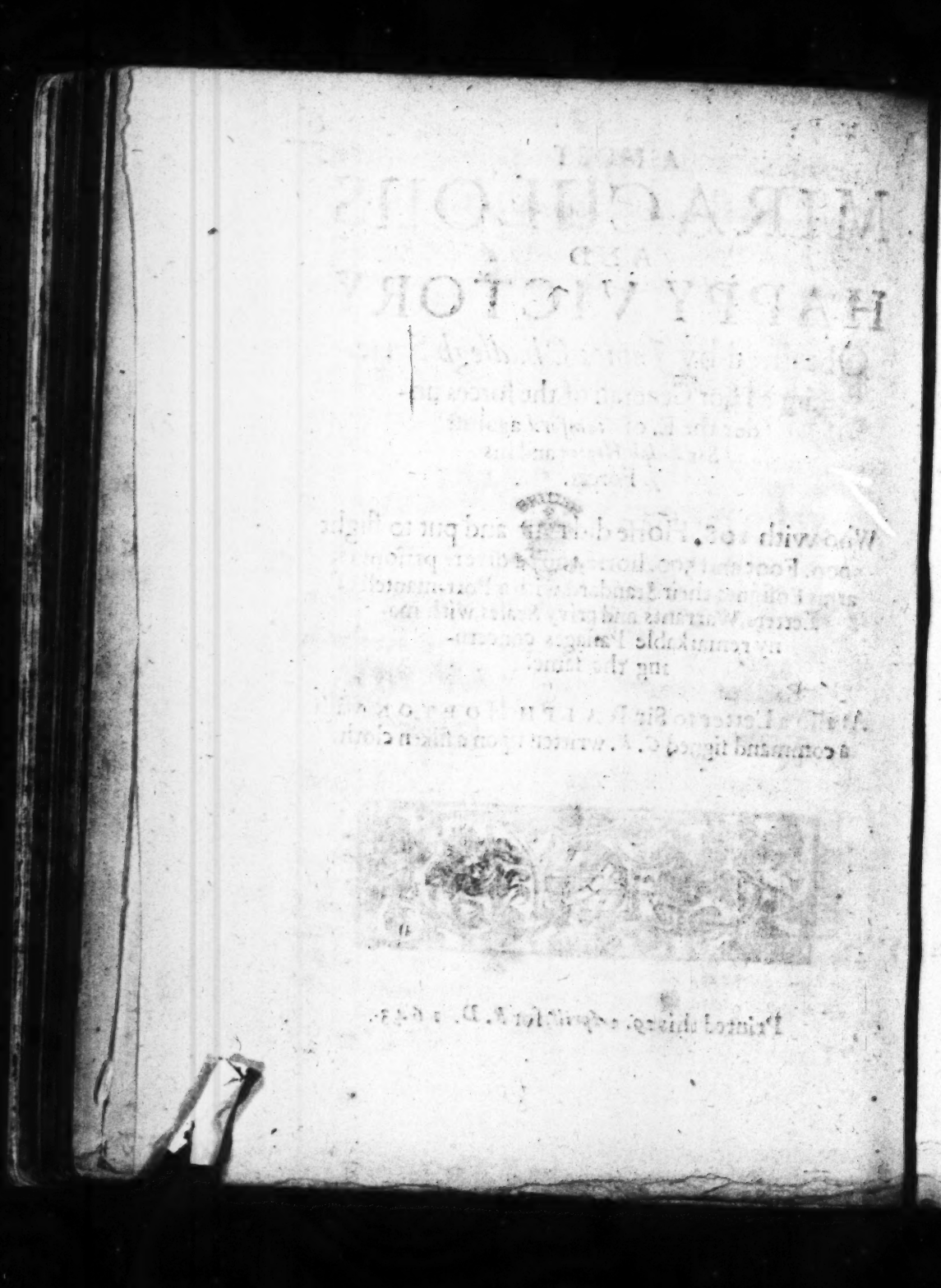
Obtained by *Fames Chudlegh* Serjeant Major Generall of the forces under the E. of *Stamford*, against Sir *Ralph Hopton* and his Forces.

Chudleigh K

Who with 108. Horſe did rout and put to flight 5000. Foot and 500. horſe, tooke divers priſoners, arms Enſignes their Standard, with a Port-mantell of Letters, Warrants and privy Seales, with many remarkable Paſſages concerning the ſame.

As alſo a Letter to Sir RALPH HOPTON with a command ſigned *C. R.* written upon a ſilken cloth.

Printed this 29. *Aprill*, for *R. D.* 1643.



# A MOST MIRACULOUS AND Happy Victory,

## Obtained by *James Chudleigh* Serjeant *Major* Generall of the *Forces*, under the Earle of *Stamford*, against Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and his Forces.

*SIR,*

HAving such good newes in our westerne parts, cannot but impart it to you, knowing that you will bleſſe God, and rejoyce with us for it. We escaped a great danger by the intollerable neglect of our Depnty Scout-Master, and had like to have beene surprised; so that Colonell *Chudleigh* was forced to a desperate charge, whereby he hath wonne immorrall Fame by his discreet and valient carriage in this businesse; hee drew out of the Towne of *Okehampton* one hundred and eight Horse,

and brought them into a forme fit for that ground, which was undiſcerned by the Enemy, wee lying cloſe as an Ambuſcadoe under the ſide of the Hill, and by many ſmall Diviſions with great ſpace betwixt, wee ſpread more ground then the Enemies whole body, and being come within Carbine ſhot, wee charged him throughly altogether, and routed his whole Army, and chaſed him to his very Reare about three miles: but we being mixt in ſo vaſt a body, (for the Enemy had five hundred Horſe, and Dragoones, and five thouſand Foot, fiftie ſeven Colours as the Priſoners confeſſe) and with a multitude though routed, yet forced to defend themſelves with the Butt end of their Muſquets, and Swords, ſo that indeed our Van was thin and diſordered: divers of our Souldiers deſerted us, they were commanded to throw away their match to avoyde the Enemies Diſcovery of their Rout, and ſticking the ends of them in the Furſes, the Enemy ſuppoſed our body to bee there, this was done in the night. There are ſome Priſoners taken, three Colours, one Standard, twelve Drummes, ſome hundreds of Muſquets and Pikes: ſeven barrells of Powder, and many other good things: had not the Horſe gone a plundering much more might have beene done by ſuch a handfull of Forces; the Lord *Mohuns*, and Sir *Nicholas Slanyng* eſcaping very hardly, one of them being taken and ſtript, and not being knowne was let goe, the other being taken by the Scarfe, but being well horſed got away.

We have taken bagges of Letters, Bookes of Accompts, Privy Seales for monies to bee lent by many of the Covntry men, and other things that doe diſcover their wicked purpoſe, as you may in part perceive by thoſe directions how he ſhould ſteare his Courſe. Wee loſt not one man in this Service: Some few hurt: It is to be admired how God preſerved our men: to him be the praiſes, for his owne hand hath done it.

The

The truth for so much as is written is not to be doubted, for I have it from Colonell *Chudleigh*, and the Captaines who are all come to the City *Exon* this Evening, and the Enemy left, with his Forces not slain, nor run away is returned into *Cornewall*.

*Exon. 26. Aprill. 1643. past 12. a clock at night.*

# The Copy of a Letter sent from the Deputy Lieutenants of *Devon*, to the County of SOMERSET.

THe Ceſſation and fruitles endeavours of the Treaty for peace, between us and the treacherous *Corniſh* being ended, on Saturday laſt ſome of our forces upon intelligence of advantage, entred *Cornwall* one Sunday the 23. of *Aprill*, ſate downe before *Launceſton* about nine in the morning, made and maintained brave aſſault till 10. at night: But the worke proving more difficult then was expected by reaſon of freſh ſupplies that came to them, our men having much anoyed the enemy by killing Captain *Baſſet*, and ſome others of quality, with a conſiderable number of Common ſouldiers, with the loſſe of ſome few common Souldiers, made ſo brave and ſo honourable a retreat, that they brought off all their Men, Ammunition, and Guns ſafe, made good the paſſages, ſo that the enemie durſt not advance over the Bridge, till they were ſafe in their Quarters.

On *Munday* they marched to *Okehampton*, for the better recruting of their Forces.

On Tueſday the Enemy entred *Devon*, came within foure miles of *Okehampton*, which being known to our Forces, they preſently drew out their Horſe to face them, and in the cloſe of that day gave them a brave Charge through and through, put both their Horſe and Foote into confuſion, and ſlew divers of their men: an ample Relation whereof you ſhall here annexed receive. The morrow after our Forces whealed towards *Exon*, with their Priſoners and Artillery, who are come ſafe hither. It is ſuſpected the Enemy will ſhortly endeavour to invade your Country, as may appeare

peare by the direction given him from *Oxford*, which we have ſo alſo ſent you, and doe thereto deſire you to take the preſent State of things, and into your conſideration, that we may enjoy the mutuall ayde one of the other for the preventing of the Enemies paſſage, which we ſhal endeavour to joyn with you in not doubting but by Gods aſsiſtance to ſuppreſſe their Force, and ſubdue their power.

## This was taken in a PORT-MANTLE, of one that was ſlaine at *OKEHAMPTON*.

Amongſt many other Papers, it was written upon a Silken Cloath, which we have.

SIR.

IT ſo much importes His Majeſties ſervice, and the preſervation of His Forces under your Command, that you march preſently nearer to his Army, to bee within the aſsiſtance and reach of the places, where his Forces are Quartered, as hee hath commanded mee to ſignifie to you his pleaſure, that all other conſiderations, ſet aſide, you forthwith repaire with all your Forces to EXETER; and from thence as faſt as you can with ſafetie into *Somerſetſhire*, and as ſoone as you ſhall bee come ſo neere, as that His Majeſties Horſe may come conveniently to you, His Majeſtie will ſend ſome ſtrength to bring you where the Quarters of your Forces and His Majeſties, may bee able and ready to aſsiſt and ſtrengthen each other: For your punctuall ſecurity, and the better ſuppreſsing of ſuch ſtrength; as is practiſing to be raiſed in *Somerſet*, *Glocester*, and *Wilts*, by the Rebels who are bent with much violence and cruelty againſt you, as his Majeſtie is credibly advertiſed.

C. R.

C. R.

*OVr Command is that you use your best diligence to Horse all your Foot, both Musketiers and Pikes, as Dragoones, that they March to us, with the more ease, speed and safety; this the Rebells doe, by sweeping all the Commons where they come, and wee authorize you to doe as much.*

FINIS.



The fourth

# INTELLIGENCE

FROM

# READING.

Dated from

## His Excellency

His Quarters in *Reading*, *April* the last, at 5 a clock at night.

Wherein is the certain Relation of the taking of HEREFORD by Sir *William Waller*.

*London*, Printed for *Samuel Gellibrand*, *May* 1. 1643.

# READING
## INTELLIGENCE

# *Mercurius Bellicus. April 30.*

*Sir,*

I Think you have now been ſufficiently abuſed by variety of reports, I ſhall ſpend ſome time in your relief: Our friends, doubtleſſe, ſome through kindnes, ſome through curioſity, deſire to know how we do. Its true our preſent Vacation affords not much, but ſomething you will finde obſervable ſince my laſt of *April* 26. On Thurſday toward noon we entred the Town of *Reading*, out of which we ſaw, and ſome upon account juſtifie, above 4000 men march, well armed, and for ought we know, reſolved, if men can be well reſolved in ſuch a cauſe: It occaſioned ſome wonder, that being ſo ſtrong, they ſallied not, and that they yeelded the Towne, when doubtleſſe they might have kept it: the beſt reaſon of the ſurrender I can finde upon enquirie, is this; That the Governour, who was equallie covetous and cruell, together with ſome of the chief Commanders, who had made very great gain of Plunders and Taxes, were afraid to put it to

the hazard: Which opinion I am confirmed in by the certain relation we had of an endeavour to convey it away two dayes before the Parley. I believe your *Oxford Mercury* will tell you a sad storie of our breach of the agreement, and the incivility of our Souldiers: Its confest some things were not well, but worse was feared; and upon a just enquiry themselves will be found the first breakers of the Articles, in carrying away unlawfull Baggage, besides women, of which that great, though not good store, as Arms and Ammunition to spare: some of the Pike-men carried Powder and Match, and their Waggons unlawfullie loaden. The worst was done was the changing hats, taking away some Arms; and some unruly fellows took clothes which I know no man will excuse. I am sure the Officers, and all those from whom reason might be expected, did their utmost to prevent it: Upon the entrance of the Town, we finde the people had been used with more then Turkish severity; being frequently bastinadoed, imprisoned, assessed 2000 pounds a Month, according to the known Laws of the Land, which the Governour was well skill'd in, in regard of his familiarity with a Lawyers wife where he quartered. They seem very glad of our coming, but not willing to entertain any Propositions of Money according to the Ordinances of Parliament; which yet must not be neglected in some proportion, though we came but to the latter fair. On Friday we had experience of a mutinous disposition in our Souldiers, who began to plunder some notorious malignants; but His Excellency, who

rode

rode out three times that day, once from dinner, to appeaſe and prevent them, and the Major Generall, and other Officers, did their beſt to hinder it; and there was little hurt done, onely in the Shop of one *Duell*, a man of ill fame as to this buſineſſe. The winde is now down, and the waves ſtill, the 12s. reward promiſed, being performed, on Saturday the new paymaſters entred their Office by Commiſſion, which I hope will be digeſted, though it lie upon the ſtomach a while. Your next expectation is when we advance, that is mine too: ſome of our Commanders are at *London*, I need not tell you their Errand; only ſuggeſt better any thing on this ſide ruine done or ſuffered, then we lie ſtill at this preſent: This day was appointed for a thankſgiving for the preſervation & proſperous ſtate of the Army, which was much quickned by intelligence received from *Devon*, & *Hereford*. From Devonſhire we had news of my Lord *Stamfords* forces routing *Hoptons*, but there was ſuch a rout and confuſion in the letter, ſo that I can make no perfect relation, onely give grounds of good hopes of our affairs in thoſe parts. But from *Hereford* where Sir *William Waller* is we had a happy and exact Relation, which to my beſt remembrance is this, That upon Sunday laſt he marched from Glouceſter toward Hereford with his forces to quiet that Country before he came this way, He ſhot three Peeces at the City on Munday morning, and then ſummon'd it by a Trumpet, to which *Cunningſby* their Governour returned this anſwer; That if he could ſhew a Commiſſion from the King, they would ſurrender it to him, other-

wiſe they would keep it for him. Thereupon he aſſaulted the Town in three ſeverall places, and ſome ſallies and conteſtations there were; but before three of the clock, their Sallie was turned to a Parley, and two were ſent out of the Town to Sir *William Waller*, who ſent likewiſe two to them, offering them Quarter and no more. *Herbert Price* a Commander there came out and brought other Articles with ſome high language, but Sir *William* ſtuck ſtrictly to his firſt Propoſition, which after ſome injurious detention of his Hoſtages, they yeelded to, only their Courtſhip would have ſome complementall formes added to his rough demand; That Gentlemen ſhould have Quarter and civill uſage, Ladies be treated honorably, the Citizens, Biſhop, Dean and Chapter preſerved from Plunder, and not impriſoned for any thing paſt; That Arms, Enſigns, Ammunition and the Government of the Town ſhould be ſurrendred to him, which was done on Tuſeday morning: Hee tooke ſome perſons of quality, as *Cenningſby*, *Price*, Sir *William Croſts*, Sir *Richard Cave*, and others, the Lord *Scudamore*: who was not ſent to Glouceſter with the reſt, but his honorable word taken to appear at the Cloſe Committee upon ſummons, and all this (through mercy) with the loſſe of one man, & hurt of 3 or 4 ſouldiers, ſo wonderfully doth God go along with the endeavors of this valiant & vigilant Cóman der. But let us now take heed of giving way to the fraud of our enemies, who ſtrive to draw out of every advantage, a diſadvantage to us, and to ſet up a part of an Army in oppoſition to that Army whereof it is a

part: As I hope we ſhall be free from envy, ſo be you from jealouſie. That the terms of *Reading* were not the like with *Hereford*; *Reading* was better Fortified and manned, had an Army of the enemy neere for reliefe; and which is very conſiderable, We upon whoſe welfare the being of this Cauſe doth much depend (to ſpeak of humane meanes) muſt not be ſo adventurous as others may, who upon a misfortune may addreſſe to us for ſupplies, we to none elſe. Let us bleſſe God for each other, and you for us both; if you help on our march, I hope we ſhall meet ere long upon good terms. I can adde little concerning the enemy; The King is gone from *Wallingford* to *Oxford*, He calls in the people from ſixteen to ſixty, and all kind of Arms. They have at this preſent more than a pannicke feare upon them, one man gave them an Alarm at *Wallingford* on Satturday, that confounded the conſultations of the Councell of Warre then ſitting, and diſperſed them. We have ſome intimations of the K i n g advancing for Wiltſhire. The Earle of *Stamford* ſent us a letter intercepted to *Hopton*, commanding to March, to horſe his Muskets & Pikes too according to the example of the Rebels, who ſwept the Common where they came (an unjuſt ſlander) the letter was writ in Tiffany, with another letter ſigned *Charles R.* Wherein it is likewiſe promiſed, That upon his approach, a conſiderable party of horſe ſhall be ſent to ſtrengthen his paſſage through Somerſetſhire, but I hope this is prevented. We intercepted ſome Letters which extreamly miſ-report our affairs, but that is

no

no more than we expected, though I hope more than will be believed, They were going into Wiltshire with a protection for some persons there, against the time that the Kings Forces should march that way. I know no more of consequence for the present, with things impertinent, triviall, or of suspected truth I will not trouble you, but rest till the next opportunitie.

FINIS.



# PRINCE RVPERTS

Burning love to

# ENGLAND:

Discovered in

## BIRMINGHAMS FLAMES.

OR

A more Exact and true Naration of *Birmingham's* Calamities, under the barbarous and inhumane Cruelties of P. RUPERTS forces.

Wherein is related how that famous and well affected Town of *Birmingham* was;

Unworthily opposed.
Insolently invaded.
Notoriously robbed and plundered. } By Prince Ruperts Forces.
And most cruelly fired in cold blood the next day.

Together with the number of Prince *Ruperts* Forces, his considerable persons slaine, or mortally wounded; their many abominable Carriages in and after the taking of the Town. The small strength which *Birmingham* had to maintaine their defence; the Names of their men slaine: the number of houses burned, and persons thereby destitute of habitation; with divers other considerable passages.

Published at the request of the Committee at *Coventry*, that the Kingdome may timely take notice what is generally to be expected if the Cavaliers insolencies be not speedily crushed.

*A righteous man regardeth the life of his Beast, but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruell.* Prov. 12. 10.

1643. *May* London: Printed for *Thomas Vnderhill.* 1643.

# A true Relation of the Inhumane Cruelties exercised by the Cavaliers at *Birmingham* in WARWICKSHIRE.

TO correct the many false Reports already spread abroad, and to prevent al false Narrations for future, concerning the late Surprisall and spoyling of the Towne of *Birmingham* in the County of *Warwick*. This ensuing Relation of Passages, hath beene collected from the severall Informations of divers trusty and Intelligent Inhabitants of *Birmingham* who were eye witnesses of, and sufferers under many the said calamities of that Town, so farre as the truth of such turbulent distracted Occurrents can be yet discovered.

The Town of *Birmingham* perceiving that for their faithfull affection to King and Parliament, they had derived the hatred of Popish and prophane Malignants upon themselves; and that since the Noble Lord *Brookes* death, those parts of the Country began to be much infested with divers Troopes of Robbers and Plunderers, whereby their persons and estates were much indangered, resolved to Arme themselves as well as they could for defence of themselves and estates, and to maintaine two Captaines for the better Disciplining and ordering of their men to that end: But whilst they were beginning to make some slight Mounds and Breast-works for defence, the weeke before Easter last, information came that Prince *Rupert* with 1500 or 2000. men with 4 Drakes and 2 Sacres was upon his March at *Stratford* upon *Aven*, and about *Henly* some

some 10 miles distant from *Birmingham*, where these Forces hovered about 4 dayes, pillageing the Country extreamly (as their manner is) *Birmingham* hoped they might passe by them, but afterwards perceiving on Saturday night, that it was probable their designe was towards *Staffordshire*, and that they would take *Birmingham* in their way; The Minister of *Birmingham* intreated the Captaines and chiefe of the Towne, by no meanes to thinke of such an impossible Defence of themselves against 2000. themselves having scarce sixscore Musquecteers in all the Towne, but rather to march away with all their Armes, and so secure their Armes and persons, though their goods were hazzarded, as a thing farre more safe and rationall, which motion the Captaines and chiefe of the Town readily imbraced, but the middle and inferior sort of people; (especially those that bore Armes) would by no meanes be drawn to leave the Towne, and so they all resolved to stand upon their own guard, otherwise the chiefe of the Town and the Captaines must have departed as Cowards, with great contemp. many scornes and curses.

On *Easter* Monday Prince *Rupert's* Forces approached to the Town about 2. or 3. a clock in the afternoone, at one end, presently assaulted it with great fury, discharging their Musquets and great pieces onely about 100. Musketiers opposing them (the rest riding themselves) which were also divided into severall ends of the Town, and not many in any one place, a good while the Musketiers kept them off their Works and drove them back till they fired a thatched house, and burnt 2 or 3 houses at Townes end and their Horse also broke into the fields and came in at the backsides of the Town through Lake-meadow, which forced the Townsmen to retreat back into the Town to charge them, where they came up, where they slew some very considerable Man who was presently stripped of his rich garments, and wrapped in a gray Coat, and a Woman of theirs suborned to lament for him as her husband they called him *Adam a Earl*, but this jeste so enraged them that they presently burnt 2 or 3 houses to the ground, whence they conceived he was *shot*; then they broke in so forcibly upon the few men in the *Town* that they were forced to leatter & fly for their

*furyes*. It is very remarkable that none of them were slain or hurt whiles they stood upon their Guard (as is credibly averred) till they scattered and were so singled out. The Cavaliers rode up into the Towne like to many Furyes or Bedlams, the Earle of *Denbigh* being in the Front, singing as he rode they shot at every doure or window where they could espy any looking out, they hacked, hewed or pistolled all they met with, without distinction, blasphemning, curling, and damning themselves most hidiously. Discovering a Troope of Horse, which was under the Command of Captaine *Greaves* at the further end of the Town facing them, they pursued after them, who after a little flight wheeled about, and most stoutly charged them through, and the Captaine received five small wounds, (which are now almost well:) In which charge the Ea. of *Denbigh* was knockt off his horse, laid for dead, and his pockets rifled (though his wounds not so mortall as to die presently) the rest of his horse were chased till they came neere their own Colours, which was excellent Service, for meane while most of the Townes foot escaped away. After which Captaine *Greaves* retreated, and so advanced to *Lichfield*. Their Horse rode desperatly round the Town, leaping hedges and ditches (wherein one is reported to breake his neck) to catch the Towne-men; no mad-men could ride more furiously. They slew in this frenzy as we are informed, about 14 in all, *viz*. *John Carter* junior, *William Knight* Glasier, *William Billingsley* junior, *Joseph Rastell*, *William Turton* Cutler, *Thomas* the Ostler at Swan pistolled comming officiously to take their Horses, *Rich: Hunt* Cobler, *Henry Benton* Labourer, *Samuel Elsmore* Cutler, *William Ward* Cutler, *Richard Adams* Cobler, *Widdow Collins*, *Lucas* his wife, and one Mr. *Whitehall* a Minister, who hath bin long Lunatick held Jewish opinions, and had layn in Bedlam and other prisons, (some say) 16. some 22. yeares, and was lately come out; they comming to him asked him if he would have quarter, he answered to this, (or like purpose) he scorned Quarter from any Popish Armies or Souldiers, wherupon they supposing him to be Mr. *Roberts*, Minister of *Birmingham*, did most cruelly mangle and hack him to death, and found certain idle and foolish papers in his pocket, which they spared not

to

to divulge (as they thought to the Round-heads infamy) and so went insulting up and down the Towne that they had quartered their Minister, out of whose bloody hands the Lords gracious providence delivered him a little before the Town was assaulted, and (blessed be God) hee is neither slain nor hurt. All the considerable men escaped out of their hare, some 40. (they say) were taken prisoners, whereof scarce 20. of their own Town, all inferior men. most of them their own favourers, and since for trifling sums of money they are released all save 2 or 3. (as being unworthy to be kept.)

Having thus possessed themselves of the Town, they ran into every house cursing and damning, threatning and terrifying the poore Women most terribly, setting naked Swords and Pistolls to their breasts, they fell to plundering all the Town before them, aswell Malignants as others, picking purses, and pockets, searching in holes and corners, Tiles of houses, Wells, Pooles, Vaults, Gardens and every place they could suspect for money or goods, forcing people to deliver all the money they had. It is credibly believed they tooke from one *Thomas Peake* a Councellor 1500. or 1300*l*. at least, for he afterwards deepely professed that they had but left him in money 15*s*. 4*d*. and it was commonly known he had about the said sums lying cankering and rusting by him for these many yeares, and yet to this day he would never voluntarily lend or give the least summe for the relief of Gods Ch: and the Land, in these present saddest distresses, who being under *Owens* hands (as we are credibly informed) when tidings of their Ministers death was brought to him, replied (thinking thereby to curry favour) that it had bin well if he had bin killed 7 yeares agoe. They had divers great Summes also from others, who have shewed small love to *King and Parliament*; tooke much money to protect peoples Houses, and afterwards betrayed them, and let them on fire. It is conceived they had 2000*l*. in money from the Towne. They beastly assaulted many Womens chastity, and impudently made their brags of it afterwards, how many they had ravished, glorying in their shame, especially the *Welsh* among them, were outragiously lascivious and letcherous. They broke the Windowes, spoyled the

goods they could not take away, and carryed with them all the chiefe goods in the Towne, some having little left, some nothing but bare wals, some nothing but cloathes on their backs, and some stripped to their very Shirts and left naked. That night few or none of them went to Bed, but sate up revelling, robbing, and Tyrannizing over the poore affrighted Women and Prisoners, drinking drunke, healthing upon their knees, yea drinking Healths to Prince *Ruperts* Dog.

Nor did their rage here ceale, but when on next day they were to march forth of the Towne, they used all possible diligence in every Street to kindle fire in the Town with Gunpowder, Match, Wispes of straw, and Besomes burning coales of fire &c. flung into Straw, Hay, Kid piles, Coffers, Thatch and any other places, where it was likely to catch hold; many of which attempts were successelesse and found after their departure yea it is confidently related, that they shot fire out of their Pistolls, wrapping lighted Match with powder or some other ingredients in formes of slugs, or bullets in browne Paper, which themselves confessed was the Lord *Digbies* devise, that English Firebrand; and lest any should save any of their goods they had left, or quench their flames, they stood with their drawne swords and Pistols about the burning Houses, shooting, and indeavouring to kill every one that appeared to preserve goods and quench the fire, domineering at the flames, *Where's your Coventry now? Where's your God Brookes now? You may see how God fights against you*, &c. And when some of the Towne (whose purses had dearely purchased some interest among them) disswaded them from further fiering, one of their owne men confessed that every *Quartermaster* was sworne to fire his owne Quarter, and that they durst not but doe it. By all which it notoriously appeares, that their full intention was, and that by command (let them pretend what excuses they can) to burne downe the whole Towne to the ground, and doubtlesse would have done it, had not the Lord been the more mercifull; The Houses burn'd were about 87. besides multitudes of Barnes, Stables, and other back buildings belonging both to those dwelling Houses and to others that escaped the flames. Persons unfurnished and fallen into extreme di-



stresse

ſtreſſe by this fire, 340. and upwards. So that many are quite undone by theſe barbarous Cruelties, which are ſo much the more cruell, in as much as all theſe (except five or ſix Houſes) were burnt in cold blood, the next day after they had ſacked the Towne. And yet for all this the Souldiers told the Inhabitants, that Prince *Ruperts* dealt mercifully with them: but when they came backe againe with the *Queenes Army*, they would leave neither Man, Woman, nor Childe alive. Such are the Cavaliers mercies. This Towne (as is thought) was the firſt Towne in the Kingdome, that was generally plundered when the King marched from *Shrewſbury*, before *Keynton* battell and the firſt that in cold blood was barbarouſly fyred. However Prince *Rupert* hath got himſelfe eternall honour, by conquering ſo mighty an enemy as 100. Muſketiers, with ſo ſmall an Army as 2000. Men. Since their departure Prince *Rupert* hearing that ſome in *Birmingham*, curſed him for his Cruelties, had deſigned (as one of their owne Party informed) two Troopes of Horſe to fire the reſt of the Towne. Whereupon ſome of the Towne petitioning him not to doe it, he replyed he would not if they rebelled not againe, nor returned to their vomit. Sithence they have cauſed one Mr. *Powers* Blademill in the Towne, to be pulled downe, wherein ſword-blades were made and imployed, onely for the ſervice of the Parliament, and ſo they were informed (which coſt erecting about 100. *l.*) threatning if it were not pulled downe, the reſt of the Town ſhould be burnt. For they now begin to be great agents in Fire-Workes.

On their part it is probably believed there fell three very conſiderable Men. *viz.* Earle of *Denbigh* who died not long after of his Wounds another as is ſuppoſed, was Sir *William* AYRES. The third as yet not knowne. Certainely two Coffins were made in *Birmingham*, while the Earle of *Denbigh* was alive; and many common Souldiers are ſuppoſed to be ſlain, ſome ſuſpected to be buryed in the firſt Breſt-workes ditch they entred, which they laid flat and charged that none ſhould meddle with it upon paine of death, and when they came into the Town, they curſed at the Roundheads, and ſwore *they ſhot, as if they had been ſhooting at Sparrowes,*

*ſcarce*

*Scarce ever missed* Master *Horse*. They tooke away two Cart loads of wounded Men, about 12. in a Cart, when they went away.

Now they have made *Birmingham* a wofull Spectacle to behold, a thorow Faire for Theeves and plunderers; the rich are wofully wasted and spoyled multitudes almost quite beggered & undone; it is thought 20000. *l.* cannot repaire their *losses*, their own Malignant neighbours rage at the well-affected, like mad men, their minister is driven from home debarred from all imployment and deprived of all his maintenance: besides his many losses by fire and plundering, and till those parts be cleared small hopes of his safe returne, being so much maligned and threatned by the Cavaliers, and the domineering anti-guard left in *Birmingham*. The People that are left are fed with such rayling Sermons as one *Orion* Curate to *Parson Smith* the ancient Pluralist can afford them. rankly temper'd with the malignancy of his owne distempered Spirit. And all well-affected People are forced to absent from their habitations, to their excessive charge in this their low estate, for feare of surprizalls, large summes being proffered to apprehend them, especially those of better ranke. Yet they desire to bear all their crosses patiently and profitably, take with joy the spoyling of all their goods, knowing in themselves that they suffer in a good cause, and that they have in Heaven a farre better and more enduring substance.

Let all the Kingdome well consider *Birmingham* calamities, and conclude what all are like to feele unless they manfully bestirre themselves to shake off the Cavaliers more then *Egyptian* yoke.

FINIS.

K England

# THE KINGDOMES CASE:

OR,

The Question resolved, Whether the Kings Subjects of this Realm of *England* may or ought to ayd and assist each other, in repressing the persons now assembled together, under the name of the KINGS Army.

Pro { Lege / Rege / Grege } adillam { propugnandum. / informandum. / conservandum. }

By him that { prayeth / studieth } the peace of the { King. / Kingdome. }

April 24. 1643.

IT *is this day ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament, concerning printing, that this booke, entituled* (The Kingdomes Case) *be printed by* Iohn Wright.

Iohn White.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Wright* in the Old-baily,
*May* 1. 1643.

THE

# KINGDOMS CASE:

OR,

The Question resolved, Whether the Kings subjects of this Realm of England may or ought to aydand assist their Soveraign, in repressing the persons now assembled together under the name of the KINGS Army.

Charge
Prepare
Fight
Pray
Conquer
Command

By him that { prayeth / fighteth } the peace of the { King. / Kingdome. }

April 24. 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament, concerning printing this book, entituled (The Kingdomes Case) be printed by Iohn Wright.

Iohn White.

LONDON,

Printed for Iohn Wright in the Old-baily,

May 1. 1643.

# The Caſe.

FIve or ten thouſand, or more Perſons, aggregate and aſſemble themſelves together, in a warlike manner, with Officers, and and all proviſions of War, and goe from Nottingham towards London, kill divers of the Kings Subjects, rob, ſtreale, and take away the Goods of others, breake into Towns and Houſes by force, and impriſon divers.

Upon this Caſe there are divers Queſtions put.

*Quare* 1.

WHether others of the Kings Subjects may not by the Lawes of this Kingdome of *England*, by all meanes whatſoever, whether by raiſing of Armes or otherwiſe, endeavour to their uttermoſt, to apprehend, oppoſe, quell, and vanquiſh, the aforeſaid perſons.

*Answer.*

IT is not onely lawfull but commanded by the Laws of this Kingdome, that all persons able, should by all or any means whatsoever, endeavour to apprehend, oppose, quell, and vanquish the said persons; and if any present at the aforesaid outrages doe not (without command, or absent doe not upon command endeavour to apprehend, oppose, quell, and vanquish the said persons; they are punishable by the Laws of this Kingdome.

*The Proofe.*

1. First, for that this assembling and demeaning themselves in this manner, as the case is put, is a breach of the Peace, and that in the highest degree; how every man may take up Armes, to preserve the Peace, nay ought, if otherwise it cannot be preserved, though it be onely in danger to be broken, in particular private Townes, and by a small number of persons: and therefore if two fall out and fight, and the one killeth the other, and a third man stand by, and doe not endeavour to part them, or prevent the breach of the Peace, this third man is to be amerced, 3 Edw. 3. Item, Northampton, Corone 293. But by M. Lambert, he is to be fined, and imprisoned, Lam. Iustice of P. pag. 133, 134, 135, &c. much more, and a Fortiori, where the peace is broken, with a high hand, and in such transcendent manner, as the present Case is put; and every publique Officer, as Sheriffs, Constable, &c. may and ought to raise and leavy the power of the County, Hundred, or Towne, to represse the breaking of the peace, if otherwise it cannot be represted; or for the apprehending of Traytors, Felons, &c. 3 Hen. 7. 10. Dalton Office of Sheriffs, 126. and if they faile in performance of their duties therein, they are to be fined and imprisoned,

prisoned; and if any refuse to ayd them therein, they are in like manner to be punished.

Secondly, for that this assembling and demeaning themselves as aforesaid, is in terrorem populi Domini Regis, in amazement of the Kings Liege-people, and so a riot, rout, and unlawfull assembly. Now if the number of three or more persons, assemble themselves together, to doe an unlawfull act, all persons in the County where the same assembly is, being able to travell, are to ayd and assist the Justices of the Peace, and Sheriffs to resist, repell, and take such offenders, and that under paine of imprisonment, fine, and ransome by the Statute 2 Hen. 5. cap. 8. a fortiori, where unlawfull acts are done, as in the case put. 2.

Thirdly, for that this assembling and demeaning of themselves as aforesaid, is by the Cõmon Laws of this Kingdome high Treason; every Rebellion is high Treason, and so was it resolved and adiudged by all the Judges of England, pasch. 39 of Eliz. of that multitude then assembled in warlike manner to pull downe Inclosures, in those places, where they had no colour to claime Common, and so was adiudged by the whole Parliament, 29 Hen. 6. cap. 2. in Cades rebellion, that he was a Traytor, and the leavying of Armes within this Kingdome in warlike manner, without lawfull cause, is Rebellion, and so Treason; and so it is resolved, Abridgment of Dier 13 Eliz. 298. 3.

Now by the Laws of this Land, all are bound to apprehend and take all Felons and Traytors, under the penalties before-mentioned; yea, I conceive, under greater. For if A commit Treason, and B know it, and conceale it, it is misprision of Treason, and he shall forfeit

there-

therefore all his goods, and the profit of his Lands during his life; and much more where he doth refuse to assist in apprehending, and punishing the offenders. If the assemblers to pull downe Inclosures afore-mentioned, were adjudged Traytors, much more these Rebels assembled to pull downe the Inclosures namely, the fences of our Religion, Lawes and Liberties, viz. the Parliament, which is the onely Fence and Guard we have in this Kingdome, against ruine of Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, the generall medicine, to cure all our grievances, the life of our lives and livelyhods.

And that this is the maine intention of this Rebellion, appeareth, not onely by their owne speeches, but also for that:

1. First, they perswaded the King to absent himselfe from the Parliament, thereby to nullifie (as much as in them lay) the benefit and profit, that the Kingdom might receive thereby.

2. Secondly, to detaine divers Members of both Houses, from returning to the Houses whereof they were Members.

3. Thirdly, to withhold divers Delinquents from being brought to answer their crimes.

4. Fourthly, to go to the House of Commons to demand the five Members, with such an attendance, as might have been the ruine and death of all that had opposed.

The principall Case, and all the other Cases in answer thereunto are put, as supposing the King not commanding, and then the Conclusions thereupon are so apparent, that all men that have their right senses will agree the same to be the Common Lawes of this Kingdome; therefore the Case is further put:

Admit

Admit that this Assembly is by the Kings command, and that others are prohibited by the King to oppose them.

*Quare 2.*

WHat alterations are thereby made of the Conclusions aforesaid.

*Answer.*

NOne at all.

First, it is not to be believed that they have the Kings command, for that His Majesty hath oft promised by divers Declarations, and also protested by his solemne Protestations, that he will rule and governe his Subjects by and according to the knowne Lawes of this Kingdome; both which Promises and Protestations were broken, if His Majesty should command the assembling of the foresaid persons, in manner as aforesaid; or to doe or commit the outrages aforesaid, being both unlawfull, and contrary to the knowne Lawes of this Kingdome, as before is apparently manifested. 1.

And therefore his Majesties command by word is not sufficient, but it must be in all Cases to justifie the party, by or from some of his Courts of Justice, or under some of his Majesties Seales thereunto appointed. Co. Mag. Cha. 186. b. 187. for every his Majesties Seales are appropriated to each Court, as the Laws of this Kingdome have disposed, and every Seale will not serve in every case: and therefore untill the foresaid persons produce such warrant as is according to law, it is not onely law-

lawfull, but commanded by the Lawes of this Kingdome, that all persons able, should by all, or any meanes whatsoever, endeavour to apprehend, oppose, quell the aforesaid persons assembled as aforesaid, under the name of the Kings Army; which is proved by a familiar Case, viz. a Capias issueth to the Sheriffe of S to take A ad respondendum, &c. and before the taking, A procureth a protection or a Supersedeas, the Sheriffe ought may justifie the taking of him, untill the shewing of the Protection or Supersedeas by A unto him, and that the Protection or Supersedeas doe appeare legall, both for the matter, manner, Court and Seale; And if the Sheriffe doe not take him, having fit opportunity, an Action of the case lieth against him, he hath broken his Oath, and is to be amerced, notwithstanding these Countermands concealed or kept in the pocket, and in the present case.

2: Secondly, but admitting they have a command from the King, under His Majesties great Seale, or any other legall Seale, yet that command, put it as strong as may be, maketh no alteration of the former conclusions: Because it is already proved, that this Assembly, and demeanor in it selfe considered, is against Law, and the King cannot command it not, now if a thing be in it selfe against Law, the Kings command doth not, nor cannot make it lawfull: For the Kings Commands by prohibitions, against the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome, are ipso facto voyd, and of no force, Nihil aliud potest Rex, quam quod de jure potest, and the rule is generall as well in the Kings case, as in the case of a common person, Quod contra legem fit pro infecto habetur, and the Actors and Executioners of these commands

are

are to be punished, as if no such command or prohibition were.

For instance, The King commands A to arrest B without cause, (which is an unlawfull act) and A accordingly doth arrest him, B may have an action of false imprisonment against A notwithstanding the Kings command, 16 Hen. 6. numer. de faits 182. So in like manner, if the King should command A to kill B, and he accordingly should kill him, T. H. 8 Coron. 229. 19 H. 6 63, &c. A may be indicted at the Kings suit therefore, notwithstanding the Kings command, and executed for the same, as if no such command had been.

In like manner, if the King should command A to kill a Judge of Assise, while he is doing his Office, and he accordingly kill him, this is high Treason, notwithstanding the Kings command, and the Judgment shall be contra Legeanciæ suæ debitum, against the duty of his Allegiance; for his duty of Allegiance is onely to obey the King in his commands according to Law, and not contrary to Law: and if this be Treason, as it is by the Common Law, to kill a Judge as afore, then much more hainous Treason is it, to kill the Judges of that Judge, which are the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

The same Law is, if the King command A to take away the Goods of B without just cause, and A doe accordingly, A shall therefore be punished, as if no such command had been, as appeareth by the present experience of the late Sheriffes, for taking away mens Goods for the Ship-money; and by the Officers of Monopolies, who have not in any manner beene excu-

ied for that they had the Kings Command: and to by the ancient Experience of former times. 42 ass. 5.

If the Rebels in Ireland had, (as they pretend they have) the Kings Commission for what they doe, it would not in any manner abate or mitigate theis offences, but that it should be high Treason, and they to be apprehended and proceeded against as if they had no such Commission: and the same Law is in the case put, of the persons assembled here in England, in like Rebellious manner aforesaid.

3. Thirdly, the King cannot by his command under the great Seale or otherwise, deny, hinder, or prohibite justice to any of his Subjects, or any just thing, to them, or for them, to be done, but this command unto the Cavaliers, to rob, spoyle, and take away mens goods, im, imprison, and wrong their persons, without making satisfaction for them; is a denying, hindering, and prohibiting justice to them, and for them.

As if the King grant a protection under the great Seale to I. N. directed to the Sheriffs, and other Officers, commanding them that they shall not arrest the said I. N. during one whole yeare, nec auferendo ei manus suite, and this per prærogativam nostram quam nolumus esse arguendam; yet if the Sheriffe doe not arrest the said I. N. upon processe against him; he shall be amerced, and this command or prohibition of the Kings shall be no excuse to him; and so it is Co. Mag. Chart. 56. Where particular cases are put to that purpose.

Quere

*Quere 3.*

But ſuppoſe the aforeſaid perſons, calling themſelves the Kings Army, were no Peace-breakers, Traytors, nor Felons, (as before we have proved them to be) yet being ſo declared *de facto*, by the Iudges of the ſupreame Court, *viz.* the Parliament: Whether are the Subjects of this Kingdome bound, by the Lawes of the ſame, to give credit to their judgement, and ſo farre to beleeve them, as to endeavour to apprehend ſuch perſons ſo declared, and proceed againſt them accordingly?

*Anſwer.*

They are,

1. Becauſe the judgement of a Court of Record is quaſi juris dictum, that is, the ſentence or dictate of the Law, for the Court is, as it were, the mouth of the Law, by which it ſpeaks to all parts within the Juriſdiction of it; now we are bound to beleeve the ſentence, or dictates of the Law, when they are thus uttered unto us, without diſputing or examination; for that theſe Courts are inſtituted by the Lawes, to utter and expreſſe their ſence in the caſes, that are within their cognizance and juriſdiction.

Therefore if the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, make an Ordinance or Declaration, that is their Judgement, and binderh all perſons within the Juriſdiction of the Court, untill it be reverſed, which muſt onely be done in Parliament, and ſo is the expreſſe booke of 8 Hen. 4. 14.

2. If all persons, within the Jurisdiction of any other inferiour Court of Record, within this Kingdome are bound to beleeve and obey the Judgement of the same Court, untill it be reversed: then much more, those within the Jurisdiction of the highest and supreame. But all persons are bound by the Lawes of this Land, to beleeve the Judgement of inferiour Courts, that are within the Jurisdiction of the same, untill it be reversed. For Example:

If I. S. a man free from all Felony, be outlawed for Felony, which is but a Declaration by and before the Coroners, which are of the most inferior sort of Judges of Record, in this Kingdome; every Subiect is bound, so farre to beleeve, and credit the said Judgement to be true, that he is not to receive, relieve, or comfort the said I. S. if he doe, knowing the said Outlawry, or living in the County where the said Outlawry was proclaimed, whereby he is bound to take notice thereof, at his perill; he is accessary to the said Felony, 12 E. 2. Coron. 377. which is cited 19 Eliz. dy. 355. And the very case of Attainder by Parliament is put, 1 Hen. 7. 4. v. where divers then elected as Knights and Burgesses of the then intended Parliament, had beene attainted by a former Parliament, held 10 Rich. 2. in which booke it is resolved by the Judges there, that the persons so attainted, could not by the King, or otherwise be discharged thereof, but by reversing it in Parliament, though it were done in the time of an Usurper, and without any iust cause: And no doubt, if any had apprehended any of those persons, so declared Traytors, before the reversall of the Attainder, or the said I. S. Outlawed as aforesaid, he might well iustifie it, and was not any way for to be

punish-

punished: Nay, had any refused to apprehend any of those persons attainted, or I. S. outlawed as aforesaid, he should therefore be justly lyable to the punishment aforesaid.

The Law of England giveth so much credit to every Court of Record, that no averment can be taken against it, none shall be admitted to contradict it, or to say it is not true; no not the King himselfe, but it must remaine valid and of force, until it be reversed. 3.

And therefore it was lately held, by the Judges of the Kings Bench, in the Lord Sayes Case for the Shipmoney; that it being resolved by the major part of the Judges of England in the Exchequer Chamber, for the king; That that Judgement standing in force, the same matter was not to be brought in question againe, nor to be disputed, though betwixt other parties; and therefore refused to heare the Lord Sayes counsell, except they had new matter not resolved before: and some of the Judges then affirmed, that that, and every such Judgement by all the Judges, is as it were an Act of Parliament to bind the Subject, and is in as much force until the same be reversed, which must be in Parliament, and no where else, as accordingly since, the said judgement in the case of Shipmoney hath been; so that as all men were bound up, by the said Judgement, now by the reversall thereof all men are at large, and the King thereby as much bound as the Subject was before; Whereupon we may see how deepely it concerneth the Subjects of this kingdome, to have frequent Parliaments, to review the Judgements of inferiour Courts, And also to have honest and able Judges, chosen into the places of Judicature; and that such of them as offend may be punished according

ding

ding to their demerit, and that that punishment may not be dispenced with.

4. If the verdict of twelve men, by the Lawes of this Kingdome, are obligatory, and binde the King and Subject perpetually where an attaint lyeth not, and if an attaint lyeth, there it is contradicted by foure and twenty, where the former was but by twelve onely; then it ought not to be marvelled that such esteeme is had of the Judgement of the Judges; but a verdict bindeth, as appeareth by the resolution of a question propounded by King Henry 4. to Gascoigne, his then Chiefe Justice, and remembred 7 H. 4. 14. which was, That one killeth another in the presence of the said Chiefe Justice, and a third man which is not guilty, is by the verdict of twelve men found guilty; what the law in that case were? to which the Chiefe Justice made answer, That he ought to respite the Judgement therein, and petition His Majesty for his pardon: so that the Verdict doth and must stand in force against both King and Subject, and the Kings command by word, or affirmation, to the contrary is of no effect. And if the said Judge had not had particular knowledge, who it was that killed that man, then he ought to have given Judgement, without any delay; or if he had given Judgement and the party against whom such Judgement was given, was apprehended or executed by any Officer; that Officer, and all assisting him therein, had been freed from all blame, and were not any way to be punished: Nay, if the Officer had not done his Office, or others had not assisted him therein, both he and they had beene subiect to punishment, in manner aforesaid.

5. Lastly, it may be proved by that generall rule taken

Co. 10.

Co. 10. 76. in the Case of the Marshalsea, viz. that where a Court hath Jurisdiction of the cause, but proceedeth erroneously, or against Law, to a Judgement that all Officers and others imployed in execution of that Judgement, are to be excused; and whatsoever they doe therein is lawfull, and justifiable, and may not be admitted to dispute or question the illegality thereof; so that upon the whole matter it appeareth, That the supreame and highest Court of Record in the Kingdome, which hath Jurisdiction over all Courts and Causes, namely, the Parliament, Declaring the aforesaid Assembly to be disturbers of the Peace, Traytors, Felons, &c. That their Judgement doth and must stand in force, untill it be reversed; and all Officers and others are bound to further the execution of that their Judgement, and to do their commands, and the commands of the Law, touching the same, and are by the same Law justified therein. 1.

And hereupon it appeareth that, Quacumque via data, the first conclusion standeth firme, viz. that it is not onely lawfull, but commanded by the Lawes of this Kingdome, that all persons able, should by all or any meanes whatsoever, endeavour to apprehend, oppose, quell, and banquish, the said persons assembled in manner as aforesaid, notwithstanding the Kings Command or Prohibition, Commune periculum, commune auxilium petit.

FINIS.

K. P. L. London

10.

Numb. 15.

# CERTAINE INFORMATIONS

## From severall parts of the Kingdome, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 24. of *April* to the 1. of *May*. 1643.

*Munday, April, 24.*

FRom *Yewill* in the County of *Somerset*, it is by a Letter Informed, that Captaine *Owland* with his Company of Dragooneers, and Captaine *Langridge* with his Troop of horse, advanced from thence, and came to *Sherborn* in *Dorsetshire*, about nine of the clocke at night, where they met with much opposition, the Townesmen discharged their Muskets upon them, and came out with their Halberds, Clubs, Clevers, and Chopping Knives, and resisted them with all their power, and that they killed dead upon the place, Master *Hugh Popham*, one of Sir *Francis Popham*'s sonnes, but Colonell *Popham* his brother behaved himselfe bravely, and came off safe; Captaine *Owland* lost a brave Gentleman there who was one of his Company, for one of his souldiers heard him to give a great groane when he was knockt downe, since which time he never saw him, nor heard of him, and the said Captaine had five or six more of his souldiers shot and slightly wounded, and Captaine *Langridge* had some foure of his Troopers wounded also; the Captaine supposeth, that they killed some twenty of the Townsmen, and they burned three of their Houses downe to the ground, and ere they left them, they marched horse and foot through every street of the Towne, and beat the Townesmen into their houses, that not a man of them durst shew their Noses, and if they had not beene the more mercifull unto them, they had fired the Towne about their eares, according as they deserved, but (as the Captaine writeth) they

came to protect them, and not to ruinate and destroy them, and he saith, that they intend to be with them againe ere they are aware, and that their souldiers long for the houre, that they may be avenged for the death of Master *Hugh Popham*.

From *Chesterfield* in *Derbyshire* they write, that some forces from *Derby*, lately marched through that Towne with two peeces of Ordnance, whose intent they supposed was against *Boulsover* Castle, but their designe proved to be against the Lord *Devonsh.* who all this time hath stood Neuter, and neither complyed with the King, nor the Parliament, onely he hath kept some of his Tenants in armes, in a rotten house of his at *Sutton*, three miles from *Chesterfield*. The Forces being come thither, sent a Captaine or two, to demand his Arms, and some monies for the service of the King and Parliament, he sent them a Negative answer, whereupon the Canons fell a playing, which made such breaches in his rotten house, that their Musketiers could easily fire upon them, in conclusion, he was forced to yeeld, and presently paid downe eighty pounds, and engaged his word to pay 500.li. more the next day, and and as much as would make up 2000.li, in five weekes next ensuing, but the next day when they expected the five hundred pound his Lordship was fled, and as they suppose is gotten to *Newarke* upon *Trent*; after his departure they seised upon a great number of horses in his Parke, and two dayes after the souldiers searched his house and tooke all they could find, and now the House lyeth waste. One of the *Derby* souldiers was slaine then outright, and two other of them mortally wounded, whereof the one dyed in returning backe from thence, and the other dyed also not long after, what his Lordship lost at his bickering is not yet certainly knowne.

The Lord *Fairefaxe* being besieged in *Leedes* by the Earle of *Newcastles* Forces; Sir *Thomas Fairefaxe* his Sonne wrote a Letter from *Bradforth*, to Collonell *Chadwicke*, and the rest of the Commanders in *Sheasield*; thus,

Gentlemen,

*SInce the Earle of* Newcastle *hath besieged* Leedes, *and my Lord Generall in it, the Forces here being weake, that without your assistance he can have no helpe, it is my Lord Generalls desire, that you presently march hither with such Forces as you have, and that joyning here at* Bradforth, *we may take some course to assist them in distresse, and endeavour to raise that Siege: How much it concernes you, I leave it to your consideration; if* Leedes *be relieved,* Newcastles *Army is defeated, and so consequently the warre neare an end; if* Leedes *be taken, I doubt the Earle of* Newcastle *will finde but small opposition, then you, as we are ruinated;*

valuated; I pray you consider seriously of it, and let us have all your help with speede,

Whereupon Collonell *Chadwicke* with the rest of the Commanders, were presently into *Darbyshire* gone,

Gentlemen,

YOu may perceive by this Letter, that Christs Cause against Antichrist, and the Cause of the King, Parliament, and Commonwealth against the wicked Enemy, is now brought to an issue in these parts, therefore we desire all good Christians, and good Commonwealths men, who are able to beare armes, that they will with all speede repaire to Sheffield with their best armes and weapons, & there they shall have good forces to joyne with them in as short a time as one hour. If we faile in this, we can expect no lesse than the curse of Meroz, and to be presently destroyed by the mercilesse enemy. All those who come in to help in this Worke, are either to have full pay, or free quarter.

Ja. Chadwick Col. &c.

The successe whereof briefely was, that the Lord *Fairfax* valiantly repelled his assailants with the losse of many of their men and armes, and they also lost their Ordnance, had they not subtilly obtayned a Treaty, during which, they drew off their traine of Artillery, and got them into *Yorke*.

Out of *Devonshire* they write, that the treaty and Cessation of armes betweene them and the *Cornish* Gentry expired on Saturday last, and that now they prepare for the warre on both sides, for which purpose, the Inhabitants of *Barnestable* and *Beddiford* had sent 5000. foote and 90 Troopes of Horse to *Holsworthy*, a Towne upon their confines, to fall into *Cornwall*, which forces were remaunded from thence againe with much discontent, because they might not prosecute their purposes. And further, that there was a ship taken at *Swansey* in *Glocestershire*, wherein were many things of note belonging to the Earle of *Worcester*, and amongst them 300 pound in money which were part of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Rents, to be sent him into *Cornwall*. And that a Merchant of *Dartmouth* had his ship taken by one *Mellmis* a *Falmouth* Pyrat, which Merchant having obtained a Letter of marcke from the Parliament, had taken a ship belonging to the said *Mellmis* laden with *Spanish* wines and Suger, whereby he had regained threefold the value of his former losses.

From *Coventry* in *Warwickshire* they writer that Prince *Rupert* had blowne

upa Turret upon the wall of *Lichfield Close*, which made such a breach, that many of his souldiers entred therat, amongst which Captain *Legg* and some others of note were of the number, who were taken prisoners by the defendants, and the rest were manfully beaten out again with a great slaughter, whereupon Prince *Rupert* sounded a Parly, and demanded the prisoners, whom the defendants would not yeild up, unlesse they might march out with Colours displaied, together with all their armes, beg and baggage, and be safely convoyed to *Coventry*, which was granted upon Hostages given one both sides. Prince *Rupert* hath lost a great many of his men there, and the defendants but ten of theirs, who would not so soone have quitted the Close if they had not wanted Gunpouder, for they had but one barrell left, which made them yeild upon those Honourable termes: further they write that the Lord *Digby* is shot upon his knee, and Prince *Rupert* through his boote.

*Tuesday Aprill* 25.

A Ship Master is lately come from Kingston upon *Hull* in *Yorkeshire*, who Informeth, that after Sir *Hugh Cholmely* had regained *Scarborough* Castle, Capt. *Brown Bushell* went to *Hull* with his wife, where being questioned by Sir *John Hotham* for yeilding up the Castle so sodainely, cleered himselfe by deepe Oathes and Protestations, which gave Sir *John Hotham* satisfaction for that time, but now to compleat his Treachery to the full, he desired Sir *John Hotham* to send onely a Trumpet with him to *Scarborough*, and assured him that he would regaine it, but withall he desired, that some men and armes might be sent thither by sea; Sir *John Hotham* confiding much in him, and no way suspecting his Treachery, armed presently his owne two Catches and a Pincke, and put into them some of the best men that were in the *Hercules*, a great ship commanded by Captaine *Maier*, which lieth in the River of Humber to guard the Towne of *Hull* by water, whereupon *Bushell* departed from thence accompanied only with the Trumpet to *Scarborough*, where he was received as a Guest, and thither also came the Catches and the Pincke, but because the sea was ebbing, and there was a barre at the mouth of the Harbour, the Catches onely got over into the Harbour, the Pincke lying out and expecting the next tide, the Catches being comn in, and laid fast a ground that they could not stirre nor helpe themselves, were presently seized on, whereof notice was immediatly given to the Pinck, by one that ran downe to the sea side, wishing them not to come in for feare of surprizing, but to returne to *Hull* againe, which they presently did, this feat being acted, the treacherous *Bushell* returned

alone

alone to *Hull*, telling Sir *John Hotham* that he had taken the Caſtle, and deſired that he might have a Troope of Horſe, the better to ſecure it and the Towne, in the Interim, while the Troope was raiſing, the Pincke returned to *Hull*, and related the whole Treachery to Sir *John Hotham*, who preſently apprehended *Buſtell*, and in a Councell of Warre condemned him to be ſhot to death, but the execution of the ſentence is reſpited, becauſe *Buſtells* wife hath promiſed reſtitution of the Catches, with the men and armes.

From *Sherborn* in *Dorſetſhire* they write, that Colonell *Alexander Popham*, with Captaine *Owlond*, Captaine *Langridge*, and other Commanders, accompanied with 9. or 10. Troopes of horſe and Dragoneers, a Regiment of foote, and 2. or three peeces of Ordnance, marched on wedneſday laſt from *Tevill* in *Somerſetſhire*, unto the ſaid Towne of *Sherborn*, but before they came thither the chiefe Malevolents that had a hand in Maſter *Hugh Pophams* death were fled from thence, and that they plundred Maſter *Cooſh* a Draper of 2000. pounds worth of goods, and alſo Maſter *Hodges* an Attorney at Law, and one *Martin* an Inkeeper, with two or three others; but tis ſaid, that thoſe three men had ſent a lewd fellow to *Tevill* to ſtab Colonell *Harben* and the reſt of the Commanders, who was apprehended, and confeſſed their plot, and that they have found the Earle of *Briſtolls* plate which was hid under ground, amounting to the value of 5000 li. and upwards, and the Townesmen have compounded with them for 2000. li. to ſave them from further plundring, and that they intend to keepe a Garriſon in the Towne and Caſtle, to preſerve them from becomming a Receptacle to diſaffected and Malevolents perſons.

His Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall, ſent a Letter to both the Houſes this day, wherein he certified them, that ſome of his Troopes went lately to *Dorcheſter*, a Towne 8. miles on this ſide *Oxford*, where they had Intelligence ſome of the King forces Quartered, and comming upon them in the night, they ſeized upon their Scouts and Sentinells, and ſo without noiſe or diſturbance entred the Towne and found the moſt of them in their beds, and there they ſlew 80. tooke 50. priſoners, and 150. of the Kings beſt Horſes, and they might have taken all the Kings life guard and his Standard, if they had not overhaſtily fallen to pillaging, by which means the reſidue of the Kings forces eſcaped, ſuch indiſcreet covetouſneſſe hath heretofore loſt many glorious Victories.

From *Manchester* they write, that the Earle of *Derby*, with 500. horſe, 500. foote, and about two thouſand Clubmen went to *Whaly*, a Towne neere *Blackeborne*, and ſeized on the Towne, and got into the Church and

Steeple, but the Inhabitants of that hundred, presently armed 3. hunderd musketiers, 30. horse, and two hunderd Clubmen, with which small strength they set upon the Towne, beat the Earle and his men out, and recovered it againe, and being provoked and challenged by the Earle to come out into the field, they set upon them, slew 300. of them, and routed all his Army, and chased them about sixe miles, which is firmely verified by letters from those parts.

*Wednesday April*, 26.

This day the Fast was celebrated, and there preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Saint *Margarets* in *Westminster*, in the forenoone, Master *Leigh* of *Chester*, and in the afternoon, Master *Greenhill* of *Stepney*, and in the Evening, newes came from the Campe before *Reading*, that Yesterday in the afternoone, some of the Kings forces came to releeve the Towne, who being come neere *Caversom* Bridge, the Lord *Roberts*, and Colonell *Berkleys* Regiments encountred and defeated them, and that they slew about 100. of them, and tooke 300. of their Armes; with the losse of two or three of their men, such good tidings hath for these many moneths been brought immediately after the Fast.

*Thursday April*, 27.

From the Towne of *Leicester* they write, that they daily expect great Ordnance to be sent unto them from *London*, which they are now ready to accept of, because all their Workes and Fortifications about the Towne are almost finished, and then they thinke, that by Gods helpe, they shall be able to defend themselves, and to keepe out their old enemies Prince *Rupert*, and Master *Henry Hastings*, with their adherents and complices.

The Parliament hath passed a Vote, that the Booke which alloweth sports & pastimes to be exercised throughout the Kingdome on the Lords day, shall be burnt in severall places of the City of *London* by the common Hangman. This Booke was first made and allowed in the Raigne of King *James*, and since his decease, it hath been pressed by the Bishops with such rigour, that many Ministers, which refused only to read it in their Churches, have been fined and deprived of their Benefices, contrary to all Lawes both Civill and Ecclesiasticall.

This day the Information came from his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall, that the Kings forces in *Redding*, had offered to Parley and Treat with him upon composition to render the Towne unto him, and that thereupon Articles were drawne up betweene them, to this effect, that the besieged should depart from thence with their Colours flying, their Armes, and all

all their bag and baggage, and that they ſhould take onely foure peeces of their Ordnance along with them, and to leave the other 10. peeces in the Towne behind them, and that they ſhould yeeld up the Towne unto him at ten of the clocke this morning, but they marched not out of the Towne untill foure a clocke in the afternoone; The number that departed from thence by report, was above 4000. but very ill armed, for ſome had no ſwords, ſome but one Piſtoll, and ſome of them none at all.

At a Common Councell holden this day, in the *Guildhall* of *London*, it was unanimouſly Voted and Reſolved, that the Croſſe in *Cheapſide*, and all other ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Images & Pictures in the City of *London* and the Liberties thereof, ſhould be effaced and demoliſhed, as inconſiſtent with, and ſcandalous to the true Proteſtant Reformed Religion, as the Parliament had begun to doe in *Weſtminſter* on *Tueſday* laſt, for they have taken away the heads of all Popiſh Images, and broken out all the Pictures that repreſented the Popiſh Saints in Saint *Margarets* Church, and in Saint *Peters* Abbey, in the Glaſſe Windowes of them both, to the end that no Roman Reliques may remaine to attract the ſimple devotions of ignorant and illiterate Popiſh People.

*Friday Aprill*, 28.

It is Informed out of *Glouceſterſhire*, that Sir *William Waller* hath taken the Garriſons of ſouldiers out of the Cities of *Briſtoll* and *Gloceſter*, and that he hath left a conſiderable number of the well-affected People in thoſe part, to guard them in their roomes, and that he marched out of *Glouceſter* on Munday laſt with 7. or 8000. men, and 17. peeces of Ordnance towards *Herefordſhire*.

Out of *Warwickeſhire* it is certified, that the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, ſonne to the Earle of *Stamford*, Sir *John Gell* of *Derby*, and the Valiant ſouldiers that ſo bravely defended the *Cloſe* at *Liechfield*, againſt Prince *Rupert* and his Army, together with the help of the *Coventry* men, have againe beſieged the Cloſe at *Liechfield*, thereby taking the fitteſt opportunity to recover it again before it be throughly manned, victualled, and provided with Ammunition by the enemy, for Prince *Rupert* left but a few men in it, whom he could ſpare but a ſmall quantity of Gunpowder, becauſe he had ſpent the greateſt part of his ſtore upon battering and blowing up of the walls thereof. And for this day or two it hath been reported, that it is regained by the aforeſaid aſſailants, which if it be true, will free the Counties of *Staffard*, *Warwicke*, *Derby*, *Leiceſter*, and the adjacent parts from the annoyance of thoſe that neſtled in it.

In

In *Cheshire* little hath been done of late, only for the present it is informed, that Sir *William Brereton* with his forces had beset the Lord *Cholmleys* house, but he wanting considerable Ordnance to batter it, because it was a very strong house, and encompassed about with a large and deep Moate, could not obtaine his desire upon it, but was forced to relinquish his attempt upon it, and to retreate from thence with losse of some few of his men.

Colonell *Cromwell* since his departure from *Cambridge*, hath spent some time in the County of *Huntington* in collecting of monies, and gathering up men to encrease his Army, which having in some measure effected, he is departed from thence to *Peterborough*, where he doth the like, that thereby he may be the better enabled to resist the *Newarke* Cavaliers, who lately came downe into those parts to plunder and pillage the Inhabitants thereabouts, but since his appearance there, they are vanished, and have betaken them to their shelters at *Grantham* and *Belvoir* Castle.

This day a Common Councell was assembled in the Guildhall of *London*, to consider of some wayes to raise monies to send to his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall, the better to encourage his Army to go on with the same alacrity as they have begun in the taking of *Redding*.

*Saturday April* 29.

Since the Common Councell of *London* agreed, that by the consent of Parliament, the Crosse in Cheapside, and all other Monuments of Romish Idolatry and Superstition should be obliterated in all places of the City of *London* and the Liberties thereof; The Parliament hath passed a Vote and Order for the confirmation of the said Act of Common Councell, and some have observed, that since the Popish Images and Pictures were effaced in the Chappell at *Somerset* house, that the Parliaments Armies and forces in all parts of the Kingdome, have had wonderfull and exceeding good successe, witnesse the victory at *Leedes* in *Yorkeshire*, and that neere *Blackborne* in *Lancashire*, together with that at *Dorcester* neere *Oxford* and the great defeats the Cavaleers had lately at *Caversham* bridge neere *Redding*, as also the late regaining of the said Towne of *Redding*, with so little effusion of bloud of the Assailants, notwithstanding the said Towne was well victualed and manned: but especially of a late Victory in the west countrey, obtained by the *Devonians* against Sir *Ralph Hoptons Cornish* Cavaliers, for it is certainly related from thence, that Serjeant major *Chudleigh* with a 108. horse, routed an Army of the *Cornish*, consisting of at the least 5000. men, and though it be true that major *Chudleigh* had 3000. foot in his Reare to helpe him, yet none of them came up to aide him, but with a small number, he defeated their whole strength, slewe a 100. of them, tooke some prisoners, and three hundred of their armes, insomuch that they say, that they could even perceive the terrour of the Lord God Almighty to be upon their Enemies, which drove them like a flocke of amazed sheepe before their pursuers.

There hath lately been a motion made in the Honourable House of Commons, to send Doctor *Laud* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Doctor *Wren* the Bishop of *Ely* into the parts of America, called *New England*, but what they intend to doe in it, is not yet fully Resolved.

Some Report from the Campe at *Redding*, that Sir *Arthur Aston* the late Governour there, was slaine and Interred in the Towne, others say, that he was carried from thence in a Horse Litter grievously wounded, when the Towne was surrendred, and his Army marched away, but the truth of either will shortly appeare. And some say, that a great Cavaleer Commander was slaine at the late Battell at *Caversham* Bridge, who was carried from thence in the Kings owne Coach, which was purposely sent for him.

R

To

As

Sir

Ord

Lon



An Exact 11

# RELATION

Of the delivering up of

# READING

To his Excellencie the Earl of *ESSEX*;

And how the Kings Forces have quitted

*Cyrenceſter* and *Brill*:

With the true Relation of the fight at *Caverſham*.

As it was ſent in a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of COMMONS, by theſe worthy Members of the ſaid Houſe:

Sir *Philip Stapleton*, *John Hampden*, and *Arthur Goodwin*, Eſquires.

---

*Ordered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, That this Letter be forthwith Printed and publiſhed.*

Hen: Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

---

*London*, Printed for *Edw. Husbands*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in the middle Temple. May 1. 1643.

# RELATION

Or the discovering up of

# PLOTTING

To blow Rochelle into the Air of POWDER,

And utterly ruine The Protestant

Cause and Name:

With the Copies of the Commissions of the Popish Conspirators,

Sign'd for this Execution by the Spider of the Horde of Germans, by their wonted Members of the Gild House:

Sir Philip Stanhope, Sir Humphrey, and Arthur Tyndar Eliquiers.

Ordered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament, That this Letter be Printed with Fairness and Publisht.

Hen: Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for Edw. Blackmore, and are to be Sold at his Shop in the middle Temple. Nov. 11. 1646.

## *An exact Relation of the delivering up of* Reading,

Mr. *Speaker*,

BEing come to a point about the taking in of *Reading*, we conceived it convenient to give you a brief account of our ſhort ſiege:

After ten miles march on Saturday the fifteenth of April, we made our approaches that night, taking ſome advantages from hedges and ditches unſlighted by the enemy. On Sunday we ſate down before the Town, batter'd with our Ordnance, and plaid it with our ſmall

ſhot all that day, in which the Governour received a hurt upon the head, which rendred him unfit for further ſervice: we had very warm worke, and hot returnes from the Town. On Munday we advanced our approaches as they could. On Tueſday in the night the King ſent in a relief of men and Ammunition, which we could not prevent by reaſon of the ſcituation of the Towne, and their advantages of Barges which we could not command, being wholly engaged on *Berkeſhire* ſide. On Munday laſt at night we ſent out a party of Horſe and Dragooners as far as *Dorcheſter*, which did beat up the enemies quarters, routed their Horſe and Foot, killed

and

and took many prisoners: On Tuesday morning last the Enemy did beat a Parley, and accordingly came out to Treat, and in the interim while the businesse was depending, the Kings Army appeared for their relief, and fell on with their Artillery foot & horse, upon our guards on *Oxfordshire* side, but being roundly received after above an hours fight, the enemy was routed with the losse of above a hundred men, and three hundred Armes. The King, Prince *Charls*, Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Generall being all in the field, that night our Capitulation was concluded, and now his Excellency being very tender of the Town that they

ſhould not bee plundered, and as carefull that the ſouldiers might receive due incouragement; hath appointed twelve ſhillings *per* man for an extraordinary, and ſo we are advancing to take poſſeſsion, for the conſequence of which ſucceſſe I doubt not but the wiſer and well-minded will ſee reaſon to think and thanke God, the buſineſſe having a bleſsing in it of a great, and growing conſtitution; if a ſhort ſurvey be but taken of the conſiderable Circumſtances, being rendred with ſo little loſſe of bloud in ſo ſhort a time, and the King reſolved to relieve it: Not to mention the ten peices of Canon they relinquiſh'd, nor the reſtitution of the V. Veſtern-cloaths taken from

our

our friends, nor their being forced upon this to quit *Cirencester* and *Brill*, ſo that had the enemy ſuch a foundation, they would advantagiouſly relate all paſſages to their honors; which we chole rather to point at then inſiſt upon, leaving the reallity of the ſervice to report it ſelf, being fewer words and more blows is our buſineſſe.

*We have here a true Narrative of the buſineſſe ſince wee came before Reading, and do thinke fit to adde the number of the Enemies Forces and ours, that you may ſee the bleſsing of God upon us at the late encounter at* Caverſham: *The Enemy had forty five Troops of Horſe, and nine Regiments*

giments of Foot, besides Dragooners. We had there to encounter them, Colonell Barclays and the Lord Roberts Regiments onely.

Sir, Your assured friends, and humble Servants,

Reading, 27. April. 1643.

Philip Stapleton.
John Hampden.
Arthur Goodwin.

FINIS.

# Theeves, Theeves:

OR,

# A RELATION

OF

Sir IOHN GELL's proceedings in *Darbyſhire*, in gathering up the Rents of the *Lords* and *Gentlemen* of that County by pretended authority from the two Houſes of

# PARLIAMENT.

*Printed in the Yeare M. DC. XLIII.*

# THEEVES THEEVES:

OR,

## A Relation of Sir *John Gell's* proceedings in *Derbyshire*, in gathering up the Rents of the *Lords* and *Gentlemen* of that County.

IT was most happily observed by His Sacred Majestie, upon occasion of the *Ordinance* for the Twentieth part, that *The same power which robbed His Subjects of the Twentieth part of their estates, had by that made a claime, and intituled it selfe to the other nineteene, when it should be thought fit to hasten the generall ruine:* in which His Majestie hath proved but too true a Prophet. For when these great *Asserters* of the publique *Libertie*, had found some possible hopes to prevaile in that, amongst the wretched and infatuated people of the *Citie* of *London*, they forthwith flattered themselves into a beliefe, that they should finde as much obedience, and as pernitious instruments to effect their ends in the *Country* also. They practiced first upon the *Citie*, as anciently unskilfull *Empericks* did on their slaves and servants; not doubting if they thrived and prospered in that *experiment*, but the whole Kingdome shortly would become their *Patients*. And thereto they would goe no further at the first attempt then a *twentieth part*, which was conceived to be no pressing imposition: knowing full well, that if the Subject could be brought to submit unto it, they did immediately devest themselves of that *right* and *property*, which by the wisedome and justice of former *Parliaments* was provided for them; and that it would be no hard matter for the next new *Ordinance* to take all at once. He that is once so skilled in the

Art of gaming, as to play at *Pluck-penny*, will quickly come to *Sweep-ſtake*: and ſo it proved in the event. For what did follow hereupon but loane upon loane, and leavy after leavy, untill the ſumme of the executions amounted to two millions of money, as hath beene openly affirmed in the Houſe of *Commons*: and after ſuch a vaſt effuſion of the Treaſure of the Kingdome, a loane of 6000l to be raiſed at once upon that Citie; a leavy of 4000l a moneth to be raiſed for ever, if they ſit ſo long; 8000l a moneth impoſed to fortifie the Towne againſt their *Soveraigne*; collections under ſeverall ſtiles to the ſame ill ends; and on refuſall of the *twentieth part* ſo unjuſtly called for, the whole eſtate of many a rich and wealthy *Citizen*, forcibly taken from him, againſt Law and Juſtice, under pretence of a *diſtreſſe*; and he himſelfe committed to ſome common Goale, at *Colcheſter*, *Yarmouth*, *Harwich*, *Rocheſter*, or whereſoever elſe theſe offended powers, thoſe *laſa-qumina* (for they are more then *Kings* already) have been pleaſed to ſend them. And at this inſtant a deſigne to lay an *Exciſe* on all the *Wine* and *Tobacco* to be ſold in *London*, for ſpeeding of the which, their *Generall* is expected to come ſhortly thither; that by the terrour of his Armes it may paſſe the eaſier: which if it take effect upon thoſe commodities, and in the Citie of *London* onely for the preſent time, will quickly be extended to all kindes of *Victuals*; and finally obtruded upon all the Kingdome.

This tryall made upon the *Citie*, though they found more reluctance and reſiſtance in it, then they had promiſed to themſelves; their next deſigne is to attempt the like invaſion on the whole body of the Realme. Accordingly an *Ordinance* is made by the Lords and Commons, *for the ſpeedy raiſing and levying of money*, (that is to ſay, 150000l *per menſem*) *for the maintaining of their Armies, to be aſſeſſed upon the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and every County and Citie of the Kingdome of* England *and Dominion of* Wales; *Commiſſioners* appointed to impoſe and collect the ſame, after the formes of ſeverall Acts of *Parliament* made this preſent Seſſion, proportions predetermined of for all the Counties and chiefe Townes, according to the platforme (never knowne before) of raiſing the 400000l to diſcharge their debts; ſeverall penalties enjoyned, and diverſe extraordinary Acts of force and violence authorized thereby, to compell the Subject to yeild to ſo unreaſonable

and

and unjuſt a Taxe; and pretty ſlights deviſed to betray thoſe men into their power, whom they could neither terrifie by threats, nor compell by force. Of this laſt kinde one of the fineſt Artifices was to make themſelves the generall *Landlords* of the Common-wealth, and bring the *Tenants*, *Bayliffes*, and other Officers of the *Engliſh* Gentry, to be reſponſall unto them for their Rents and Duties: it being declared in the ſaid *Ordinance*, *That the Collectors of this Taxe ſhould have power reſpectively to enquire of any ſumme or ſummes of money due, or to be due to any perſon ſo aſſeſſed, (which ſhall refuſe to pay the ſaid monethly rates) from any perſon or perſons, for any Rents, Tithes, Goods, or Debts, or any other thing or cauſe whatſoever; and to compound for any of the ſaid Rents, Tithes, Goods, Debts, due to the perſon ſo aſſeſſed, reſpectively as afore-ſaid, with any perſon or perſons, by whom the ſaid Rents, Tithes, Goods, Debts, or other things due unto the ſaid perſon ſo aſſeſſed, reſpectively ought to be paid and accompted for; as alſo to give full diſcharge for the money by them ſo received, upon compoſition or otherwiſe; which diſcharge ſhall be good and effectuall to all intents and purpoſes.* So farre the Letter of the *Ordinance*.

And to ſay truth, it ſtood with Reaſon and with Juſtice both that it ſhould be ſo, that they who had releaſed themſelves of all ſubjection to their Soveraigne Lord, ſeized on His *Revenues*, prohibited the ſerving in of His accuſtomed *Proviſions*, applied the ordinary *Cuſtomes* impoſed on Merchandize to their owne proper uſe, and ſtopped all wayes, as much at leaſt as in them was, by which His Majeſtie might ſubſiſt in the condition of a private Gentleman, ſhould alſo free and *manumit* inferiour perſons from all manner of *ſervice* to their Lords, appropriate unto themſelves the whole *Revenue* of the Kingdome, and in concluſion breake in ſunder as well the bonds of *Oeconomicall* as of *Politicall* obedience. For though it was conceived at firſt by ſome moderate men, who would faine nouriſh *confidence* where there was no *hope*; that this was onely done to content the *Citizens* in making them believe that all the reſt of the Kingdome ſhould beare the burden of the Warre as well as they; and that it was not to be put in execution, but where the people were already inured to bondage: yet this was but a *ſick mans* hope, which uſually layeth hold on any thing that comes next to hand; it being

reſolved from the beginning to exerciſe this *prodigie of Arbitrary power and tyranny* (as it is called moſt juſtly by His ſacred Majeſty) in all parts and places, where either their *partie* was ſo ſervill as willingly to yeeld unto it, or their *authoritie* ſo ſtrong as to force obedience, which being perceived by His Majeſty he cauſed a *Proclamation* to be publiſhed, dated *March* the 8. *forbidding all aſſeſſing, collections, and paying of the twentieth part, and of all weekly taxes by colour of any Orders or Ordinance of one or both Houſes of Parliament*, under ſuch ſeverall paines and penalties to the *Aſſeſſors, Collectors*, and ſuch as ſhall *aſſiſt* therein, as are there expreſſed. His Majeſtie had good reaſon to expect of the *Engliſh* Subjects, who have beene anciently ſo zealous of their native *Liberties*, that willingly they would not helpe to betray each other to a ſhamefull *ſervitude*: eſpecially when as His Majeſty appeared ſo viſibly in defence thereof, not onely by his *Declarations* and *Proclamations* which might be valued as a cheape and eaſie favour, but by adventuring his owne life and fortunes to preſerve their Priviledges.

But notwithſtanding all his care of his ſacred Majeſty to Protect his Subjects, & the preſumptions that he had to find His people anſwerably mindefull of their native property: there want not many in moſt *Counties*, (in all *Counties* ſome) who feare not to bee looked upon as the betrayers of the *Lawes* and *Liberties* they were born unto, ſo they may bring about thoſe ungodly ends, for which they have engaged both their faith, and fortunes. And amongſt theſe I meete with none more practicall then *Gell* of *Darbyſhire*, who being notoriouſly guilty of high Treaſon againſt His Majeſty, and publikely proſcribed by *Proclamation*, is come at laſt to that condition, that he hath little reaſon to hope for better, or feare to fall into a worſe eſtate, then he now is under. In this regard, he with the reſt of his *Accomplices*, Pretending or having a Commiſſion from both the Houſes of *Parliament*, hath undertaken to diſcharge this dreadfull *Ordinance*, in all thoſe parts and places where he hath authority, or can procure authority by his power and Armes: eſpecially on thoſe well-affected Gentlemen and others of more eminent note, who have the courage not to yeeld to ſo wilde a *Tyranny*; or ſo much loyalty and common prudence, as to aſſiſt their *Soveraigne* in their owne defence. And to this end he ſends out

warrants

warrants unto the *Constables* of each *hundred* within the veirge of his *Commission*, with notice to the Tenants of all such persons, whose names he anexed in a *schedule*, to appeare before him and his *Associates* at a place appointed; and to compound with them for their rents, promising to abate the fourth part, and give acquittance for the whole; and with these subtle Acts and promises, mingling such powerfull threates and terrours, as were conceived to have most influence upon *Vulgar* spirits. One of which warrants coming by good luck to my hands, I have here transcribed, that all the Subjects of this Kingdome may perceive at last (if willfully they have not put out their owne eyes) how neare they are to that generall ruine of their *Rights* and *Liberties*, to which they have betrayed themselves by their *blinde* obedience,

*To the Constable of* Ackmanton.

"Whereas these unnaturall warres at this present, are fomented & "maintained by *Papists* and *Malignants*, to the utter undoing of ma- "ny honest men, and the ruine of the whole common-wealth: for "the better preventing of which miserie, and to do the best wee "can to put a speedy end to these destractions, according to the "trust reposed in us by the *Ordinance* of *Parliament*, we thinke "fit and do command you that presently upon receipt hereof, you "give notice to all the *Tenants* within your *Constablerie*, if any "of the Persons named in a *Schedule* herewith sent you, that "henceforward they pay all their rents due to any of those persons "or to any other that contribute, or beare Armes against the *Par-* "*liament*, to the *Committee* here at *Darby*, or to such other Person "or Persons as the said *Committee* shall nominate. And we all pro- "mise that such of those *Tenants* that shew their forwardnesse to "bring in their *Rents* to the *Committee* at *Darby* by our *Lady-day* "next, or within four dayes afterwards, shall have a discharge a- "gainst their *Landlords* of the whole rent, and shall have a fourth "part abated them; And those *Tenants* that are refractorie and come "not willingly to us, shall not onely be forced to pay their whole "rents, but also shall be proceeded against as *Malignant* Persons, "and such as endeavour the continuance of these troubles. Given under our hands, *March.* 1642.

*Post-script*

*Poſt-ſcript.*

"You may let ſuch of theſe *Tenants* know that if they cannot "procure the whole rents ſo ſoone as is appointed, yet if they bring "part to the *Committee* at *Darby* at that time, then they ſhall have "further time for the reſidue, and ſuch abatement as the *Committee* "and they ſhall agree of. ſigned.

*John Gell.* *John Greſley.*
*Tho. Gell.* *Matt. Hallowes.*

Nor were the Perſons whoſe eſtates were thus diſpoſed of, of any ordinarie ranke and quality, ſuch upon whom *experiments* of this dangerous nature, might be tried moſt ſafely: but the moſt choyſe and eminent men both of *Nobilitie* and *Gentry* in all that County, as you intelligent reader, may perceive by their very name, being theſe that follow in the *ſchedule*.

*The Earle of Newcaſtle.*
*The Earle of Devenſhire.*
*The Lord Maltravers.*
*Sr. Andrew Kniveton.*
*Sr Wil. Savil.*
*Sr. Ioh. Harper of Caulk.*
*Sr. Io. Fitz-Herb. of Tiſſington.*
*Mr. Barneſly.*
*Mr. Iohn Bullock.*
*Mr. Rowland Eyre.*
*Mr. Poole of Spinkehill.*
*Mr. Puſey.*
*Mr. Hunlock.*
*Mr. Will. Millard.*
*Mr. Hen. Gilbert.*
*Mr. Iohn Cuffe.*
*Mr. Francis Cavendiſh.*
*Mr. Jackſon.*
*The Earle of Shrewsbury.*
*The Earle of Cheſterfield.*
*Mr. Henry Haſtings.*
*Sr. Edward Moſeley.*
*Sr. Ioh. Harper of Swarſtone.*
*Sr. Io. Fitz-Herbert of Norbury.*
*Mr. Hen. Merry.*
*Mr. Iohn Merry.*
*Mr. Powtherell.*
*Mr. Iohn Fretchwell.*
*Mr. Iohn Shawcroſſe.*
*Mr. Iohn Byram.*
*Mr. Stanford.*
*Mr. Aſton Cockaine.*
*Mr. Edw. Lee.*
*Mr. Will. Stanhope.*
*Mr. Eliot.*
*Mr. Burridge.*
*Mr. Chriſtopher*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mr. Christopher Lee.* | *Mr. Richard Cooke.* |
| *Mr. Howson.* | *Mr. Sidenham.* |
| *Mr. Savill of Backwell.* | *Mr. John Pale.* |
| *Mr. Th. Bagshaw of Ridge.* | *Mr. Boden of Boden.* |
| *Mr. Nic. Brown of marsh.* | *Mr, Rich. Carrier.* |

He must be needs abused to an infinite dulneſſe, who findes not ſenſibly how utterly deſtructive theſe proceedings are of the *rights* and *Liberties* of the *Engliſh* Subject; when once the *Tenant* is ſeduced to deceive his *Landlord*, to play the *knave* by the authority of *Parliament*, and to be tempted to it by ſo faire a baite, as the abaitement of his rent in ſo large a meaſure; which doubtleſſe is prevailing *Oratorie* with moſt country people: needs muſt he be extremely ſtuped, who ſeeth not what poore and groundleſſe hopes the lower *ſhrubs* may have to avoyd the blowe; when once the Axe is laid unto the Root of theſe goodly *Cedars*. For howſoever moſt if not all of theſe whoſe names we meet with in that *ſchedule*, may be comprehended in the ſtile of *malignants* and *delinquents* (termes of no ſignification in the Lawes of *England*) as they are moſt commonly; yet who ſees not, how eaſily that man may be called *malignant*, or Voted up for a *delinquent*, whoſe large *revenues* may invite them ſo to ſtile the owner, in hope to benefit themſelves by the confiſcation. Do we not ſee, that to be an *honeſt man* is to be a *Malignant*, when thoſe who guided by the rules of common *honeſty*, make *conſcience* of paying their Rents unto any other then their rightfull *Landlords*, are preſently declared to be *Malignants*, and threatned in *Gell's* Warrant produced before, to be proceeded againſt as *Malignant Perſons*? And if that *common honeſty* be thought ſufficient (as it ſeemes to be) to make men *Malignants*; thinke we that *loyaltie*, being a duty of more excellent and more publike nature, will not as eaſily be found ſufficient to make men *Delinquents*? If ſo, as ſo aſſuredly it is, then let us ſeriouſly conſider to what degree of *tamenoſſe* we have brought our ſelves, when perſons of ſuch deſperate fortunes (as thoſe who are imployed moſt commonly in theſe guilty offices) are furniſhed with a power to receive our Rents, compound for our Debts, diſpoſe of our Eſtates, and ſell our Goods: and finally to undoe thoſe poore honeſt men,

who ſhall not readily betray their *Maſters*, or put a cheat upon their *Landlords*. *Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia Fures?* If *Gell* and ſuch as he have this power upon us, 'tis time to give up all to theſe awfull hands, the *little finger* of the which is grown *heavier* to us, then the *loynes* of all the Kings that have reigned in *England*, were on our *Progenitors*. And yet ſo tender would they faine be thought of the Subjects *liberties*, that when their Generall had ſent out a warrant for raiſing 52 l. out of the Towne of *Richmond*, toward the payment of his *Souldiers* quartered thereabours; it was complained of, and condemned in the Houſe of *Commons*, as being deſtructive of the peoples propertie, by which it ſeemes to be againſt the Priviledge of *Parliament*, that any but themſelves ſhould contribute to the ruine of the Common-Wealth.

Nor let them thinke, who hitherto have beene the inſtruments of this wretched ſervitude, or have beene wrought upon ſo farre as to contribute Armes and Money to their owne undoing; that they live in *Goſhen*, and that not one of all the *Plagues* which afflict their *neighbours*, ſhall come neare their *dwellings*. The frequent plunderings of their friends, as well as of ſuch others as affect them not; and Maſter *Pyms* defence of *Long* on the like occaſion, that *many things are to borne with, if they conduce unto the great and neceſſary affaires of the Common-wealth*; ſhewes evidently what their friends muſt looke for, when they have ſerved their turne upon their enemies. And that will prove in fine ſuch a churliſh curteſie, as *Polyphemus* promiſed to his loved *Ulyſſes*; which was to keepe him till the laſt, and not to eate him till he had devoured all his fellowes. With how much better hopes of ſucceſſe and fortune, may they permit themſelves to be *diſabuſed*, reſume the uſe of their owne *ſences*, and not give up their *intellectuals*, nay their very *ſoules*, to the luſts of thoſe, who all this while have held them captive, and ſhortly mean to make them follow their *triumphant chariots*. With howmuch fairer poſſibility to enjoy their *rights*, may they unite both hearts & hands to defend His Majeſty, conſidering that by ſo doing they defend themſelves: and rather chooſe to give his Majeſty *nineteen* parts to preſerve the *twentieth*, though tis our hope that we ſhall never be reduced unto thoſe extremities; then by ſo giving up the *twentieth* part, or indeed any part at all to looſe all the reſt, which of

all

all likelyhood will follow after, if not timely remedied. I ad no more, but that if theſe conſiderations and examples prevaile not on us, and that we do not ſomewhat ſpeedily to aſſert our *liberties*, the bleſſing of *Iſſachar* will fall heavy like a curſe upon us, and we of this brave *free-borne* nation, which heretofore hath beene the wonder, as it was the envy of the *Chriſtian* world, will come to be the *ſtrong Aſſe* which the Scriptures ſpeak of, *crowching between two burthens: ſtrong* onely in our patience of induring preſſures, and *crowching* to ſo poore a degree of ſlavery, as to be brought to *kiſſe the rod*, wherewith all the ſcourge us. Which as it is the greateſt infamie, the ſevereſt bondage that can be poſſibly impoſed on men borne to ſervitude; ſo is it farre more odious and unſufferable to men of judgements and courage, then the ſharpeſt death.

---

*FINIS.*

---

14

# THE Independency on Scriptures OF THE Independency of Churches:

*WHEREIN*

The Queſtion of Independency of Church-Government is temperately, *firſt*, Stated; *ſecondly*, Argued: *thirdly*, Cleerd from the Objections: and *fourthly*, Appeald in, to the judgements of ſuch as ſtand for it.

---

By Maſter HERLE, a *Lancaſhire* Miniſter, at the Requeſt and for the ſatisfaction of ſome Friends of his, and by them Publiſhed:

*Together with his Letter ſent them together with the TREATISE.*

may. 2 d.

LONDON:

Printed by *Tho. Brudenell* for *N. A.* and are to be ſold at the *Angell* and *Bible* in *Lumber ſtreet*, 1643.

# THE
# Independency on Scripture
## OF THE
## Independency of Churches:

IN A REPLY
To the Question of Independency of Church-Government is temperately, fully, Stated; Learnedly Argued: Wisely, Cleared from the Objections
and Cavils, Appeal in to the Judgements of such as stand for it.

By Master HERLE, a Learned Pure Minister, at the Request and for the Satisfaction of some Friends of his, and by them Published:

Together with his Letter from them together with
HIS REASONS.



LONDON:
Printed by Tho. Brudenell for N. A. and are to be sold at the Angel and Bible in Lumbertreet, 1643.

GENTLEMEN,

IN Answer if not satisfaction of your desires, I send you the inclosed, wherein as I have argued against the Tenet, so have I appealed to the judgment of those of the independent opinion, whom you professe (and not unworthily) so much to reverence: I have striven neither to make the difference greater then it is, nor this Treatise of it greater then it needs. For the Treatise, that it is no greater, the little leasure of the times, (for volumes may be excuse great enough; men are loath (with Archimedes) to have their braines dashed out, while they are in the midst of Seiges beating them about Demonstrations; besides, Readers look now adayes upon long books, as upon long bils, after the Imprimis, (and an Item or two glanced at, throwing them by for Executors, to examine at leasure more throughly: however t'as beene at all times in any Subject by wisest men held, better to say enough then all; how much soever the tributary volumes of Jesuits (able sooner to weare out a Cobblers thumbs to turne the leaves, then a Schollers nailes to score the Margens) stile Protestant writers Methodists, Sistematists, and but Pam-

phlet-pedlers, *we ſee the narroweſt ſtuffes are moſt what cloſeſt woven, and ſo more uſefull; there's no better argument of a bad cauſe, then in muth to ſay a little in it; a man might (poſſibly) at as eaſy a rate have blowne the Text with words, and crowded the margen with Authors; but that I like* D. Moulins *reſolution better, ratehr to bring one argument, then ten Authors to his cauſe, and (herein) it holds more eſpecially, where all that which is called* Antiquity *is* una littra, *waved utterly, in this one word* Humane, *and to ſay truth, not (herein) much amiſſe, in as much as the ſubſtance of the queſtion is, what kind of Church government the Scriptures have left us? All that I dare promiſe is, that I have not willingcommitted any one conſiderable objection I could meet with, I preſume not to offer any State-conſiderations to make appeare how intolerable a Toleration of this Church Independency will be to civill government; I onely ſay, 'twere pitty after all this coſt and hazard, to preſerve a* Dependency *of* State-government *upon* Law, *it ſhould be a new trouble how to prevent an* Independency *of* Church-government *on* order. *However, for the difference betweene us and our brethren that are for Independency, 'tis nothing ſo great as you ſeemed to conceive it, we doe but (with* Abraham *and* Lot) *take ſeverall wayes, we are as* (Abraham *ſpeakes*) brethren ſtill, *and* (as they were) *ready to reſcue each other on all occaſions againſt the common enemy; our difference 'tis ſuch as doth at moſt but ruffle a little the fringe, not any way rend the Garment of Chriſt, 'tis ſo farre from being a fundamentall, that 'tis ſcarce a materiall one, nay not ſo much as the forme, 'tis but the better or worſe way for the exerciſe*

*of the ſame forme of diſcipline that is in queſtion;* the That it be, *and* What it be, *and* Which it be, *is agreed on amongſt us, 'tis but the* Whoſe it be *we differ in, and herein too not ſo much* Whoſe *neither, as* Where it be, *whether in every Congregation apart, or of the ſame men joyned with the like of other Congregations in a Synod.*

*Theſe times doe in matter of Sects as the Heathen in the gods of their Religion,* quas timere timent, *faigne (at leaſt) themſelves afraid of what themſelves have faign'd, and which is worſe* quas fecere *too,* ſlander Religion *with their owne* brats; *thoſe, not onely of their* fancy *but* fury *too: The truth is, what by thinking the* Tyranny *in Church-government on the one ſide,* Libertiniſme *in life and* Rome-wardneſſe *in Doctrine on the other; of the* Arminian *late prevailing party could never be fast or farre enough fled from, the ſeverall wayes or but degrees of ſhunning them, that men of ſeverall tempers have taken, are by that party cunningly called ſo many ſeverall Religions; that this party which now ſo much inſults on the number of Sects among us, and dry* drunk *with envy, ſees every one of them (at leaſt)* double, *hath beene the cauſe of them, is fully ſhewed by a very learned and faithfull pen: Nor let it ſtagger any man to ſee this warre of the* pen *more manifold and ſubdivided, then that of the* Pike, *every* difference *in* opinion, *'tis not a* diverſity *of* Religion; Opinion *is well called the* ſpie *of* Truth, *reaſons* projector, *and while but modeſtly laid downe as a* Probleme *of diſcourſe, not cryed up for an* Article *of faith (ſerving (ſo) the* Sunne *by the* Diall) *it is the* Fanne *to purge religious floore with;*

Mr. *Cheynels* Riſe, growth and danger of Socinianiſme.

*the* Turkes *Religion, 'tis neve a whit the better, that it never passed thorough this* furnace, *the* strife of tongues *'tis a signe the Divell hath no such quarrell to it, nor God any such care of it, as by this kind of ventilation to make it take the faster root, 'tis the Character of a close* Atheist (*the great* masquer *of these times*) *to hate a* different opinion *more then a* contrary Religion, *nay, then no* Religion *at all, an Inconformist more then a Papist or Neutrall; however, he that will but looke into* Bellarmine, Valentine, *but especially* Swarez, *and generally all the Tomes of Jesuits, and see how many more pages are spent in confuting the different opinions of their owne party then of us, will easily acknowledge that the Devill holds the Perspective-glasse, that men among us most what see by shewing our differences at the multiplying end, but when those of the Papists must be looked on, cunningly turning the other end of the glasse upon them, representing them as farre off and little as may be; but for those differences that are among us, what ever they be, let us rather strive to pray them lesse, then to argue them more, wherein shall not be wanting the endeavour of*

Your willing servant,

C. H.

# The Independency on *Scriptures* of the Independency of CHVRCHES.

## *The Question ſtated.*

THE *ſtating* of the *Queſtion* in a Diſputation (whereby it may appeare wherein the difference lyes betweene the ſeverall *Tenets*) is a kinde of *trying* the *skales* before we *weigh* the *ware*. Before therefore we weigh the reaſons on either ſide, the *skales* into which they muſt be ſeverally put, that is, the *tenets* would be firſt *tryed* and *ſet right*. The *denominative notions* of the *queſtion* here are three; *Churches Government* and *Independency*.

For the firſt, the Papiſts make foure ſeverall kindes of viſible Churches; the *vertuall* Church, which is (they ſay) the *Pope*; the *Conſiſtoriall*, that of the *Cardinals*; the *repreſentative*, that of a *Councell*; and the *eſſentiall*, that of the whole number of *Profeſſours*: two of theſe, the *vertuall* and *conſiſtoriall* are here utterly of both ſides rejected, all ſides acknowledge the *eſſentiall*; the difference here is about the *repreſentative* or collective Church, that in a *Councell* or *Synod*, the *Independents* de-

ny to a *Synod* (as the name of a Church) ſo all manner of power of *juriſdiction*, either to *determine, decree, cenſure*, or any way oblidge ſuch as they ſhall any way repreſent: they acknowledge that neighbour Churches may meet and conſult, and adviſe each other in what may concerne all or either; nay that the reſt are to withdraw all fellowſhip from, and diſacknowledge all ſiſterhood with any one of them that ſhall grow pertinaciouſly ſcandalous, and in ſome caſes to ſeeke to the civill Magiſtrate to reduce (at leſt) to repreſſe her: but for matter of juriſdiction or power of the *Keyes*, either in *excommunication, ordination* or what ever *cenſure*, they hold that it is entirely, and onely in every ſingle Congregation (though but of two or three beleevers) and there collectively in every member thereof; we, on the other ſide, acknowledge that where there is no conſociation or neighbourhood of Congregations or ſingle Churches, whereby they may with convenience be mutually aiding each to other, or whereto in caſes of publique danger, or mutuall difference, the particulars may have recourſe, or appeale to the whole neighbourhood; there a ſingle Congregation muſt not be denied entireneſſe of juriſdiction, but that is a caſe extraordinary and fals not within the compaſſe of the queſtion; which is, What is the ordinary rule of Church-government left us by Scripture? but on the other ſide where there is ſuch a conſociation or neighbourhood of ſeverall Congregations (ſpecially under one civill Magiſtracy) there ought to be in ſuch caſes of mutuall difference or danger *Synods* or *Aſſemblies* conſiſting of the ſeverall Paſtors, whom together with ſuch other Members as ſhall be thought fit, the ſeverall Congregations are reſpectively to chuſe and ſend thereto; whereunto there may be liberty of *Appeales* by either Congregations, or Members in caſes of poſſible partiality in the ſaid ſeverall Congregations, and wherein there may be a larger power of the keyes to make decrees, ordaine Paſtors, excommunicate Members or Congregations; yet ſo as in every ſingle Congregatinon there be left a power of publike *reprehenſion*, and if need be *ſuſpenſion*, of its owne Members from the Lords Table: and in caſe upon ſuch appeale to the Synod, there appeare no difficulty in the matter, or partiality in the

carriage of it: it is (if betweene Members of one Congregation) rather to be remitted to the Congregation it ſelfe, to be there cenſured and ended.

The ſecond Notion in this Queſtion, 'tis *Government*, *Church-government*: this is twofold, *Magiſteriall* and *Miniſteriall*: Magiſteriall Church-government is acknowledged on both ſides to be onely in Chriſt Jeſus, the head of the Church. Church-government Miniſteriall (for it muſt not be *Lordly* (as our Saviour tels us) Independents ſay it is equally and fully in every ſingle Congregation; above or beſide which there is no Miniſterially governing Church by any meanes (they ſay) to be admitted, and in which all and every member hath (ſay they) a *governing* power, as of *ordaining* their owne Paſtors and Officers; ſo of *depoſing* and *excommunicating* them as well as any the other members of the Congregation. Wee acknowledge that every ſingle Congregation hath equall power, one as much as another, but not one as much as that one and all the other in a Synod: we acknowledge that the Paſtors and other Officers were anciently, and 'tis to be wiſhed they ſtill were choſen (at leaſt) conſented to by the members of each reſpective Congregation: but that they are to be *ordained*, *depoſed*, or *excommunicated* by the Presbytery and other Commiſſioners in a Synod onely, where though all the ultimate power of Decrees and Cenſures reſides, yet is it to be diſpenſed as by their joynt authority, ſo with regard to be had to the concurrence in conſent of the reſt of the members of the Conſociation, as of brethen equally concerned and repreſented by their owne truſt.

Mat. 20.26.

The third Notion here, 'tis *Independency*: this alſo is twofold, *radicall* or *mutuall*: that no Church is radically independent in its government (i.) independent on its root or head *Chriſt*, 'tis agreed on of all hands; *mutuall* independency is that which is in queſtion: and this alſo is twofold, *ſubordinative* and *coordinative*, that one church or congregation is not ſubordinatively dependent on another; it is alſo on both ſides agreed on, coordinatively mutuall dependency of Churches in their government is the thing in queſtion, whether it is neceſſary one ſingle Congregation conſiſting of Paſtors, Elders and mem-

members have a coordinatively mutuall dependency in government upon a consociation of other Congregations with it in a Synod or Assembly? and herein too the word *necessary* admits of a double sence or acception; one of a *physicall*, the other of a *morall* necessity: that there is no physicall necessity: (1.) a necessity in reference to the very *being* of a Church in such a dependency, it is likewise acknowledged by both sides; the *morall* necessity of such a dependency is the thing in question, Whether it be necessary to the *well-being* of such a single Church or Congregation that where it stands in neighbourhood with other Churches (specially under the same civill government) that it be equally and mutually coordinated with the rest in a dependence on the Ministeriall government of a Synod or Assembly of them all? this they deny, and we affirme.

The Question argued from the { *Patterne of the Jewish Church.* / *Institution of our Saviour.* / *Practice of his Apostles,* / *And* / *Other rules of Scripture.*

Expect not to have it named whose the severall reply, or objection is in the following discourse; for generally, all that have written for independency, as, Master Smith, Best, Davenport, Canne, Robinson, Mistris Childley, together with such as have concealed their names, have the same.

*The first Argument, taken from the manner of government in the Jewish Church: laid downe* { Deut. 17. 8, 9, 10. / 2 Chr. 19. 8, 10. 11. / Psal. 122. 4, 5.

THat the government of the Jewish Church was by Gods institution, nationall and dependent, as it clearly appears by the above mentioned Texts, so is it fully confessed by Master

*Ayns.*

*Aynſworth*, Maſter *Davenport*, Maſter *Canne*, Maſter *Robin-ſon*, and generally all independents; onely three things they alledge in diſproofe of that Governments being a preſident to us now. 1. That that government was ceremoniall and typicall, and ſo we ſhall judaize in following it. 2. That Papiſts alleadge it againſt us, for their hierarchy and appeales to their high Prieſt the Pope. 3. that the Prieſts and Levites were then Judges in civill cauſes wherein it was that the government was then *appealative* and *dependent*. We ſhall ſee what weight theſe exceptions carry. To the firſt, that a *nationall Church* (now ſince *Chriſts death, and the diſſolution thereby of the Iewiſh one*) *is a monſtrous compound, ſavouring of judaiſme* (as Maſter *Robinſon* objects) we anſwer, The *ceremoniall* and *judiciall* lawes were to the *Iewes* a kind of *Comentaries*, and (as it were) *Outworks* to the *morall* law; the *ceremoniall* to the *firſt* Table, the *judiciall* to the ſecond; in both which lawes there was (as alwayes ſomething of *Type* in the *ceremoniall* proper to that *Church*, and of *Rule* in the *judiciall* proper to that *ſtate* of the *Iewes*) ſo remaines there ſtill to us in both, ſomewhat of generall *equity*, and *morall* concernment obliging us and all, now and alwayes as well as them then; for example.

Aynſw. Anima p. 15. 16. Davenp. Apol. Repl. p. 254. Can. Church. Ple. p. 43. 44. Robinſ. juſtif. of ſeperat. p. 217.

Ibid.

Lev. 21. 18.

In that *ceremoniall* law, *A blinde man or a Lame, or he that hath a flat noſe, or crooked backe—or any other blemiſh, ſhall not be made a Prieſt to God*; the *ceremoniall* part or type here in this Law aim'd at, and ended in our Saviour Chriſt, who was every way *a fit high Prieſt without blemiſh*; but the generall equity of it, that who ever is to be imploy'd in the miniſtry of Gods Sanctuary, ought to be without *ſcandall* and *deformity* in life; 'tis *morrall* ſtill, and obliges now as well as then.

Levit. 21. 18.

Heb. 7. 26. 1 Pet. 1. 19.

So in that *judiciall* law, *Thou ſhalt not reape the corners of thy field, nor gleane thy Vineyard*; the municipall or *judiciall* part; here 'twas fitted to the *genius* of that *Nation* of the *Iewes* (a hard hearted people, where the rich were loath to give, and the poore aſhamed to begge) but the generall *equity* thereof is *morrall* ſtill, and binds us (though now we may reape the corners of our Fields) to provide however for the poore: (Some ſay the ſame of *Tythes*) the Apoſtle himſelfe we ſee, changes

Lev. 19. 9.

1 Co. 9. 9. 1 Tim. 5. 18. the equity of not *muzling the mouth of the Oxe* in his labour, as binding ſtill to the Miniſters maintenance.

So here, that there was to be one high Prieſt, in whom all Appeales and judgements were to determine: 'twas *ceremoniall* and Typicall, ſhadowing out our Saviour Chriſt, in his finall and ſole ſupremacy of judgement; but that there ought to be *Graduall* Judicatories, wherein the aggreeved party may appeale from the leſſer to the higher, that againſt the very light of nature, the adverſe party be not the ſole Judge and party too in the cauſe; that a part miſcarry not, while there is helpe or ſupply in the whole; there can be no *Ceremony* or Type in this, this was not learn't by *Moſes* in the patterne of the Mount, but taught by the light of nature to *Jethro*, and by him given in advice to *Moſes*; *ex illo fundamento*, ſaith *Junius* upon the place, upon this very *ground of* Jethro's *advice*: Moſes *diſmeth the manner of the appealing of parties. Appeales* (ſaith Doctor *Wittakers*) *they are of divine and naturall light, and certainly very neceſſary in every ſociety, becauſe of the iniquity & ignorance of Judges*; ſo Doctor *Reynolds*, and generally all that write againſt *Appeales* to the *Pope*, acknowledge yet their neceſſary uſefulneſſe to a *Synod*; ſo did that renowned martyr *Cranmer*, the forme of whoſe appeale to a Counſel three ſeverall times urged by him with much inſtance; we have recorded by Maſter *Fox* at large; ſo (beſides the whole ſtreame of antiquity) *Vrſine*, *Zeperus*, and to come neerer *Cartwright*, *Fenner*, nay *Barrowe*, *Aynſworth*, *Johnſon*. *Aynſworth* urging the equity of appeales of this kind, from the *Iewiſh* Church government: *is it fit* (*ſaith he ſpeaking of* Congregation Elder) *they ſhould be Iudges in their owne cauſe in Iſrael, when any complaind of wrong, in the Synagogues and Cities, there was a higher Court to controll unruly Elders*; Mr. *G. Johnſon*, an *Engliſh* Miniſter in *Flanders*, though no admirer of the *Engliſh* Church government, excommunicated by his brother *Francis Johnſon*, who had together with him excommunicated too, the father of them both; one, that at 90 yeeres of age had taken ſo great a journey, onely by the helpe of a Synod to reconcile his two ſonnes; and for that very cauſe excommunicated, as was alleadged in the forme of his excommunication,

Exo. 18. 22. Jun. in Deu. 17. 8.

Whit. Contr. 4. de. Rom. Pont. q. 4. c. 2. Keyn. Conf. with Hart. c. 9. Deu. 2. Act. and Mon. pag. 1709. Col. 1. ver. Tom. 1. in Expl. Catecti. p. 295. Zep. Pol. Eccl. l. 1. c. 8. Cartw. Firſt Reply to D. Whitg. p. 192. Fen. S. Theol. l. 7. c. 7. H. Bar. Diſc. p. 1. Anſ. Animad. p. 22. G. Johnſ. diſcourſe of troubles, p. 38. 39. 41. 74.

*viz. For labouring thereby to draw the Church into Antichristian bondage, they will not* (*saith the said* George) *be perswaded to let the reformed Churches heare, try, judge and end the controversie betweene us*: nor is it his complaint onely, but generally of all the Ministers of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches in *Amsterdam*, Ibid. in his and his fathers behalfe, as appeares in the Testimoniall given under their hands. And indeed if the benefit of Appeales, and consociation of Churches to their mutuall helpe in government, should not be as free to us as to the *Iews*, how much more defective and improvident were the Gospell then the Law? Psa. 72. 12. 14. contrary to all ancient propheſies of Gospell communion; how Isa. 42. 1, 3, 4. were our Saviour, *King of peace and righteousnesse*, should he have ordained now under the Gospell such a government, as by making parties sole Judges (suppose the greater number of Members in the Congregation against their Pastor and Elders, as is but too apt to occurre) were neither *righteous* nor *peaceable*; What judaicall Type or Ceremony, can there be in this communion and mutuall assistance in government, which God Eccl. 2. 9. (as by his word, so) by the very light of nature, teaches all societies whatever; whether *Common-wealthes*, or *Armies*, *Universities*, or *Navies*, not that therefore this government of Churches should as those, end in a *Monarchy* on earth; because its Monarch or head is in heaven, and such a one as though in Heaven, yet still present by his word and spirit here on earth too to all the Offices of a Monarch: had Christs Kingdome beene of this world, no civill society could have had any other *Monarch* neither: and whereas 'tis objected, that these graduall formes of Appeal are borrowed from heathenish custome, 'tis easily answered; custome in whomsoever, as it cannot by differing from it prescribe against, so much lesse can it by agreeing with it, forfeit nature or morality; in spiritual actions, wherein a natural and morall necessity of formes is implyed, 'tis no heathenisme to use such formes as have beene used by Heathen, as in preaching, for one to speake at once; in prayer to bend the knee, as the Heathen did in their orations and petitions, yea and sacrafices too. Hence is it in all likelihood, that no more is written in Scripture of these kindes of Dependencies and Appeales in Church

Church government, becauſe they are of naturall light, according to that of the Apoſtle, *as for brotherly love yee needs not*
1 Theſ.4.9. *that I write unto you, for you are all taught of God herein.*

To the ſecond reply, that Papiſts alleadge theſe very places and this very preſident of the *Iewiſh* Church againſt us; for their finall Appeales to the Pope, as the high Prieſt and ſupreme Judge of the Church Chriſtian. We ſay (as before) that that ſupremacy of the *Iewiſh* high Prieſt was a plaine *Type* of Chriſt, and therefore the Papiſts doe apparantly *iudaize* therein; whereas we urge not the *Iewiſh* forme of government in any thing, which can hold any thing of *Type* or figure; but wherein a morall equity againſt partiality, and a mutuall aid againſt deficiency of private judgement; doe without any Type ſtill bind all ſocieties whatever; if the Papiſts urge the ſame texts, they doe not urge the ſame arguments from them; beſides if we ſhould ſuffer the Scrprures; becauſe many (as the Apoſtle tels us)
2 Pet.3.16. *wreſt them to their ruine*, to be wreſted from our uſe, no man ſhould be ever able to draw any comfort from the promiſed
Pſal.91.11. *guard of Angels*, becauſe the devill abuſed that place to
Mat.4.6. tempt our Saviour with; ſhall *Abraham* not *claime* his *Well*,
Gen.21.25. becauſe *Abimelechs ſervants had invaded it*; if the Scripture
Mat.5.4. will willingly *goe one mile with us*, muſt we breake company with it, becauſe the Papiſts would *force it to goe too?* the Papiſts doe to the ſame purpoſe as much urge that of *Mat.* 18. 17. And yet ſuch as contend for independency, even thoſe that make this very objection againſt us herein, doe not therefore make nice to preſſe it to the utmoſt in their defence, but how pertinently we ſhall ſee in the next Argument.

To the third Exception, that the Prieſts and Levites were in the Jewiſh Church Judges in *civill* cauſes as well as Eccleſiaſticall; & 'twas in civill cauſes the dependency of the Government in appeales lay. To this the places themſelves make anſwer, eſpecially that 2 *Chron.* 19.10. diſtinguiſhing plainly betweene State *matters that concerne the King*, wherein *the chiefe of the Fathers of Iſrael were to be Judges*; and Church matters, *matters of the Lord*, *wherein the Prieſts and Levites were to judge*. What can be more plaine or large then the words there uſed?

*ment?*

*what ever cauſe ſhall come to you of your brethren that dwell in their cities--betweene law and commandement, ſtatutes and judgments*: can there be any cauſe Eccleſiaſticke that fals not under theſe. So in the other place too, that of *Deut.*17.8. *If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in judgement--- thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts the Levites, and thou ſhalt doe according to the ſentence which they of that place* (which the Lord ſhall chooſe) *ſhall ſhew thee, and thou ſhalt obſerve to doe according to all that they informe thee. Junius* upon the places obſerves the fulneſſe and exactneſſe of the words herein: beſides, if the light of nature as hath appeard, prompt to Appeales, and conſequently a *dependencie* in all government, as a benefit of *morall* equity to all ſocieties, why not in Eccleſiaſticke as well as civill cauſes? what ever is morall is both univerſall and perpetuall lawes meerely poſitive, are therefore lawes becauſe commanded; morall ones are therefore commanded becauſe lawes. Iun. loc.

For that common Objection: where doe we read in Scripture of a naturall Church ſince this of the Jewes? 'tis anſwered well enough with a like queſtion: where in Scripture doe we read of a Nation converted to the Faith, beſides that of theirs? where ever they ſhew us ſuch a Nation, we will ſhew them ſuch a nationall Church.

## The ſecond Argument, taken from our Saviours words, *Mat.*18.15. *Tell the Church, &c.*

THat this is ſpoken by our Saviour Chriſt, in reference to the *Jewiſh* Church government (before urged) beſide which there was (when our Saviour ſpoke it) no other in being) is the joynt judgement of *Ambroſe Theodoret, Cyrill, Gregory M.* among the ancient, *Melanthon, Strigelius, Pezelius, Aretius, Muſculus, Bucanus*, all cited by *Gerſom Bucerus*: nay Maſter *Cartwright, Brightman, Parker*, are of the ſame opinion, ſo is Maſter *Fenner* too, who gives as a reaſon thereof; the words our Saviour uſes *Publican, Heathen*, and *that otherwiſe the Apoſtles could not have underſtood him, knowing then no other* Bucer. Diſcert de Gubran. Eccl. p. 182. Cartw. firſt repl. to D. Whit. p. 183. Park. Polit. eccl. l. 3. c. 22. 24. Fen. part of a Regiſt. p. 479.

C *Church;*

*Church: and even Maſter Iohnſon* himſelfe, though a Paſtor of Separatiſts in a peculiar Treatiſe, reduces himſelfe from his former errour in the contrary opinion to this judgement too, uſing the very ſame reaſons with Maſter *Fenner*; and if ſo, then our Saviour (here) ſufficiently confirmes to us as lawfull, and conveyes to us as uſefull, ſo much (at leaſt) of the *Iewiſh* Church-government as includes a Dependency, and liberty of Appeale therein: but to improve this Text, yet further it is an unqueſtioned *Maxime* in *Logicke*, that *Propoſitio indefinitia, in materia neceſſaria equipollet Univerſali*: and thence as true in *Divinity*, that *an indefinit command where the duty is of neceſſary concernment is equall to a Univerſall*; now all theſe five graduall *Iffs* in the Text, *if he ſhall offend, if he ſhall hear, if he ſhall not heare, if he ſhall neglect to heare them, if he ſhall neglect to heare the Church*, they are all *indefinit*, not reſtrained to this or that particular (however in the word, brother, there be a Senecdoche, a ſingle perſon, named for either more or leſſe, Church or Member) and ſo theſe indefinit *iffs*, muſt be as large as the matter it ſelf ſpoken of, either the occaſion *offence*, or the duty *complaint*, neither of theſe are arbitrary in our owne choice, but of neceſſary concernment. Well then, the *remedy* of *complaint* or *Appeale*, muſt be as large as the *malady offence*; otherwiſe Chriſts *ſalve*, were not equall to the ſoare, but *offences* may ariſe as well between divers *Congregations* in the ſame Church, as betweene diverſe *Members* in the ſame Congregation; and therefore particular *Congregations* as well as *Members*, have hereby liberty ro *complaine* and *appeale* to a more generall judgment for redreſſe: what if a brother offend not a particular brother, but the whole Congregation? What if ten brethren offend the whole, or part, ſhall we thinke the offence fals not within our Saviours remedy of complaint or appeale here? that the offended party be not againſt all equity, the ſole and finall Judge of the offence. That ſuch offences may ariſe betweene Churches as well as Members (beſides the ſad experience of ancient, moderne, and preſent times even among Separatiſts themſelves) appeares by that betweene the *Grecians* and *Hebrewes* about the neglect of their widowes, *Act.* 6.1. that in

*Act.* 6.1.

such

ſuch caſes, they may complaine and implead each other; beſides this our Saviours rule, appeares by that of the Prophet *Hoſea* 2. 2. even the *daughter* Church with the *mother*, that in ſuch caſes of Complaint and Appeale, there be a power of judgment to redreſſe; there, where the complaint is to be made, abundantly appeares in the words our Saviour uſes of *Publican, Heathen, binding, looſing, and* accordingly ratifying *in Heaven*: that an offence may be ſo generall, as to defile and make guilty a whole Land, ſufficiently appeares in Scripture; and why not then the remedy as large as it: *Tell the Church*, ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate an enemy to Religion, and the Land, or whole Church therein (or if that word ſound not well) the whole number of beleevers have occaſion to make a ſolemne renewall of their Covenant with God; ſhall not this whole Church, or number in their collective body, have power to enjoyne it? how elſe is the *remedy* equall either to the *offence*, or *need*? Our Saviour ſpeaking to his Church, bids her *take the foxes, the little foxes that ſpoyle the Vines*; if a whole congregation (great or little) play the *fox* and *ſpoyle the Vinyard*, why may it not be *taken* and reſtrained.

Num. 35. 33. Hoſ. 4. 1. Jer. 23. 10. Cant. 2. 15.

To this Argument the independent party reply, or rather labour to obtaine out of the Text three things:

Firſt, that our Saviour ſpeakes here of a ſingle Church or Congregation, and therefore cals it (the Scriptures mentioning no other viſible Church) by the name of Church, not Churches *Tell the Church*. Secondly, to this ſingle Church, and to all this Church entirely, not diſtinguiſhing betweene Elders and Members, he gives the keyes of excommunication and abſolution, *if he will not heare this Church*. Thirdly, Over this Church to aſſume a Church-power of judicature, is a lording it over Chriſts heritage, and drives ſtrongly towards a Papall Hierarchy (at leaſt) a prelatick Paſtorſhip over Paſtors.

To the firſt of theſe exceptions we anſwer, that it no way appeares, that our Saviour in this place or that the Scripture elſewhere uſually meanes a ſingle Congregation by the word Church, but that the contrary rather is eaſily evincible.

Firſt, that he here ſpoke in reference to the *Jewiſh* Church,

which was no ſingle Congregation, hath above ſufficiently appeared: next, that he hath reference herein to that of *Deut.* 19. 15. appeares by his citation of the very words of that Text, *that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, every word may be eſtabliſhed*: Now there the witneſſes and offenders were by way of further appeale to ſtand before the Lord, before the Prieſts for judgement, ver. 17. Laſtly, no other place can be ſhewed wherein our Saviour Chriſt uſed the word Church for a ſingle Congregation: but for the Scripture language herein, nothing is more manifeſt then that, as it never any where uſes the word Church for a ſingle Congregation, unleſſe happily, in 1 Co. 14. or when ſome two or three, where in ſalutations, it gives it (howbeit not in a miniſteriall capacity) to ſuch or ſuch a houſhold: ſo nothing is more frequent therein, then to call many Congregations in a Province or City, by the name of Church; ſufficiently thereby implying, that the entire uſe of the keyes, is not to be retail'd or parcel'd outtherein to every Congregation therein but collectively, and ſo dependently diſpenſed by the whole; we will onely inſtance in foure, *Jeruſalem, Rome, Corinth* and *Epheſus*.

In that of *Jeruſalem*, conferre the places in the margin together, and we ſhall finde that the number of Diſciples, in that which the Scriptures call the Church at *Jeruſalem* 8120. The additionalls in proportion to thoſe firſt increaſes, *Beleevers being ſtill the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, ch.* 5. 14. *and the number of Diſciples being yet further multiplyed, ch.* 6. 1. could not but be abundantly larger, and all theſe meeting not extraordinarily (as Maſter *Baynes* would have it) but *dayly from houſe to houſe*, it cannot be underſtood of a collective meeting of all in one Congregation, to heare and pray together, but of a diſtributive meeting in ſeverall Congregations, and yet all one Church; when this Church met collectively, we ſee plainly it was in their Presbiters and Elders, *ch.* 21. 17. *When we were come to Jeruſalem, the brethren received us gladly, and the day following* Paul *went in with us unto* James, *and all the Elders were preſent*; we ſee in this Church at *Jeruſalem*, the *collective* meetings were *repreſentative* in their

Acts 1. 15. 13. 41. 44.

Bayn. Diocef. try. q. 1. p. 15.

Acts 2. 46.

Acts 20. 20.

their Elders, plainely implying a *Dependence*; it was impoſſible all the Members ſhould communicably in prayer or preaching, meet but by way of diſtribution into ſeverall Congregations.

Next, for the Church at *Rome*, in the Apoſtles time ſtil'd every where; in the Epiſtle by the name of Church, not Churches; can it be thought that the *Faith* and *obedience of a Church* in ſuch a City, could be famous throughout all the world (as the Apoſtle ſpeakes) and yet but one ſingle independent Congregation, convenable in one private roome or chamber; thoſe very *Perſons* and *Families* (no queſtion of eminence above the reſt) named in the Apoſtles *Salutation* of that Church; whereas the reſt he includes in *all the Saints which are with them*, even thoſe choycer Families were able to fill ſeverall Congregations; *Tertullian* tels us, that in his time (not long after) the City was at leaſt halfe Chriſtian; and *Cornelius* tels us, that beſides himſelfe, there were in that Church 45. Presbiters; this Church the Apoſtle cals, *one body* diverſified into *ſeverall* rankes of Officers, *Prophets, Miniſters, Exhorters, Rulers*, to the mutuall aid of all the ſeverall parts. Rom. 8. 16. 19. Rom. 16. 1—ver. 15. vid. Rutherf. Peac. Ple. p. 232. Rom. 12. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Next, the Church at *Corinth*; every where ſtyld *Church*, not Churches, that ſuppoſition of the Apoſtle, *though you have ten thouſand inſtructers*, implies they had many, and many of them *falſe* ones too, *ſeverall kinds of builders* (as he ſpeakes) *of Gold and of Silver, of precious ſtones, of wood, hay and ſtubble*, and ſuch as had their ſeverall followers too, *ſome of* Paul, *ſome of* Apollos, *ſome Cephas*; not but that they had other, and other manner of Leaders beſides theſe, but that to prevent envy (as he ſpeakes) he had *in a figure transferred* all thoſe differences *to himſelfe and* Apollos *for their ſakes*: So many *Prophets, Teachers, Speakers with tongues, Interpreters, Miracle workers, Diſcerners of ſpirits, helpes and governments*, as there were here (as Maſter *Robinſon* himſelfe acknowledges and well obſerves out of that Text) and al as *Members of the ſame body, hearing* and *ſeeing* (as the Apoſtle ſpeakes) and (which is full to the purpoſe againſt independency) *having the ſame care each of other*, could not queſtion leſſe, have their ordinary locall meetings, 1 Co. 4. 15. 1 Co. 3. 12. ver. 4. 1 Co. 4. 6. 1 Co. 12. 28. Robinſ. agai. Yat. p. 28. 1 Co. 12. 25.

but by way of distribution into severall Congregations. But it is with much instance and confidence, here urged by Master *Robinson*, Master *Best*, Master *Parker*, and generally all Seperatists, that those among whom here in this church of *Corinth* the fornicator *was*, who *were puffed up*, who *sorrowed not that he was not cut off*; they *all* were to be *gathered together*, and to *judge*, and to *deliver him to Satan*; therefore the power of the keyes were alike in all the Members: for 'tis not the Elders onely, among whom he *was*, *who were puffed up*, who *sorrowed not*, *&c.* and consequently, not they onely that were to deliver to Satan, adjudge and excommunicate him; 'tis not they onely that are charged not to be *mixed with the fornicator*, *to purge him out as leaven*, *to forgive him.*

Robinf. egai. Bern. p. 170. Seper. 3. Pet. pol. 8. a. g. 3. Pref. gov. exami. an. 1641. p. 12. 13.

To all this we answer; first, that this Argument concludes as much for the keyes, to be judicially in the power of women and children as any of the rest; for that it is as well, they among whom the fornicator *was*, who *were puffed up*, who *mourned not*, *&c.* And yet (although it can hardly be avoyded by their Tenet) Independents will not say, the power of the keyes is judicially in them.

Next the words ἵνα and ἐξαρθῇ a passive verbe; doe imply that the Members in generall, were blam'd for their *security* (as *Pareus*) for *boasting themselves faultlesse* (as *Caietan*) and *the fornicator onely in blame*; although they had not *mourned* as they should have done, whereby to have moved their Elders, or (at least) have moved God to have moved them, to have judicially cast him out; therefore the words are, *Yee are puffed up, and have not rather mourned:* not that yee have not taken him, but that by your mourning and humbling *he is not taken away* (1) by them to whom it judicially belongs.

In loc.

But they insist on the words, *delivering*, *purging*, *judging*, enjoyned to all that are written to; especially *judging*, being the same word the Apostle joynes himselfe, in with them. To which I answer, that it concludes *ex non concessis*, *viz.* that every command herein is in a joynt and equall capacity spoken to all; the contrary whereof is seen, in *Ch.* 1. 13. *Ch.* 3. 12. 3. 4 *Ch.* 11. 17. 20. 21. Where the Apostle, though he speake indefinitly

v. 5. 7. 12.

finitly, apparantly meanes but ſome; to deliver, purge and judge is not ment of all (at leaſt) not of all in the ſame ſenſe or capacity, ſome doe it by paſtorall authority, with *Pauls* paſtorall *Spirit* (as he ſpeakes) others by popular conſent and procurance: ſo Chriſt is ſaid to be *delivered by Pilate*, the *Gentiles and Jewes*; (1.) by *Pilate* judicially, by the reſt by popular asking and procurance: ſo *Iſrael* is bid *to put out the Leaper*, and yet the Prieſt onely did it judicially, ſo *Iſrael* is bid *to put the falſe Prophet to death*, though all *Iſrael* did not authoritatively give judgement; ſo the people are ſaid to *feare God and Samuel*, are bid to *feare God and the King*, though not with one and the ſame degree or manner of feare; ſo our Saviour promiſes his *Spirit* to his *Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors to the end of the world, to guide them into all truth*; yet not in the ſame manner, tho' to his Apoſtles *infalibly*, to their ſucceſſors, but *ſufficiently*, as our Divines uſually diſtinguiſh.

ver. 4. Acts 4.27. Deu. 13. 5. 1 Sam. 12. 18. Pro. 24. 21. Joh. 16. 13.

*Junius* from this very place obſerves the quite contrary, that the Apoſtle *Paul* joynes himſelfe in the judiciall act of excommunication, not as an ordinary *Member*, nor as an extraordinary *Paſtor*; an *Apoſtle*, but in the capacity of an ordinary *Elder*; *when you are gathered together with my ſpirit, in the power of our Lord Jeſus* (1) that power which our Lord Jeſus hath given to ſuch a *paſtorall ſpirit, to deliver ſuch a one unto Satan*; ſo the Prophet to *Gehazi*, *went not my ſpirit with thee*, (that is) my *prophetical ſpirit*; the Apoſtle requires not onely that it be done *in the name of Chriſt*, ſo every meeting muſt be whether to pray or preach, *whatſoever you do, doe all, &c.* but that it be done in the *paſtorall ſpirit* of *Paul*, and *Elder* (as he cals himſelfe) ſo then the convention meant (in order to the authority of the act) muſt be of ſuch as had the ſame *paſtorall ſpirit* with *Paul*; wherein that it is, that he himſelfe judges, he himſelfe determines, *for I verily as abſent in body but preſent in ſpirit have judged already* — which that it cannot be meant of a popular authority of judging, appeares in that, it was not requiſite every Member ſhould be ſo preſent; adde to this, that the Apoſtle ſpeaking of the ſame act of excommunicating the ſame offender in the ſecond Epiſtle, ſaies plainly, *ſufficient to ſuch*

Jun. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. & 9 n. 14. 1 Co. 5. 4. 2 Kin. 5. 26. Col. 3. 17. Ver. 3.

2 Co.2.6. *ſuch a man is this puniſhment, which was inflicted of many, not all but many.*

Acts20.17.28 Laſtly, for the Church at *Epheſus*, uſually ſo called; in the
Acts 20.31. *three whole yeeres, the Apoſtle* Paul *ſtaid there, he* acquaints the
1 Cor.16.8,9 *Corinthians, that a great and effectuall doore had been opened to him, ſo mightily there grew the word of God and prevailed*;
Acts 19. (ſayes the Text) the greatneſſe of the *price* of the *conjuring bookes burnt publiquely* thereupon, and of the *Tumult* made in oppoſition, out of an important feare of bankrupting *Diana* and her whole *retinue*, ſpeake it fully; nay, God himſelfe teſtifies to *Paul* that *he had much people in this City*, and yet all this
Acts 18.10. conſiderable and even formidable party in this ſo great a City,
Acts 20.28.17 is uſually ſtiled by the name of *Flocke* and *Church*, not Churches, and as it could not poſſibly ordinarily in all its Members meet but diſtributively; ſo that it did meet collectively in its Presbitery and Elderſhip, that which ordained *Timothy* (there) by the Apoſtles owne teſtimony, appeares in the 17. 28. and 36 verſe of the twentieth Chapter: beyond all exception, *he called unto him* (ſayes the Text) *the Elders of the Church, and when they were come, he ſaid to them, take heed to your ſelves and to all the Flocke, whereof the H. G. hath made you overſeers---and when he had thus ſpoken, he kneeled downe and prayed with them all*: thoſe two *themes* ſhew they were the ſame overſeers he had firſt called together, and that they were *many* in that one church, thoſe three *als, I know that ye all--prayed with them*
ver.25.36,37. *all--they all wept ſore*, ſufficiently imply; as alſo that they were no more then could well heare him, and yet ſo many as to make a congregation themſelves of overſeers, upon whom all the reſt of the Flocke had *dependence*; whetherto elſe tends this, either their convention or the Apoſtles charge? as much might be ſaid of the other of the ſeven churches of *Aſia*, with that at *Antioch*,
Acts 13.1. *Philippi*, where the Text ſaies *there were many Biſhops and Dea-*
Rev.2. *cons*, and *Theſſalonica, which had many over them in the Lord*:
Phil.1.1. but to the ſecond exception. To the ſecond exception, that to this
1 Theſ. 5. 12. ſingle church and to all this church entirely without any diſtinction between Elders and Members, Chriſt gives the keyes, *if he will not heare this church & whoſe ſins ye remit.* We anſwer.

First

First, that this word Church (as hath ſufficiently appeared) is no way reſtrainable to a ſingle Congregation; next, that by the word Church (here in this place) is principally meant the Presbitery and elderſhip will be eaſily evinced out of the very Text it ſelfe, thus; thoſe, queſtionleſſe our Saviour meanes, when he bids *Tell the Church*; to whom he continues his words in that immediately enſuing promiſe of *ratifying in Heaven whatever they ſhall* (therein) *bind or looſe on Earth*, aſſuring them that *when two or three of them ſhall be ſo gathered together, he will be in the midſt of them*; but this promiſe of *binding or looſing* our Saviour (here, as every where elſe) made onely to his Apoſtles, and their ordinary paſtorall ſucceſſors (as all agree) to the Apeſtles *Infalibly*, to their ſucceſſors *ſufficiently* (as before) nor indeede can it be otherwiſe, for if the whole Congregation be the two or three there mentioned (as Independents would have it) ſuppoſe of thoſe two, the one be the *Offending* the other the *offended* brother, whom the *offender will not heare*; what Church ſhall he tell? where ſhall he find the *two or three witneſſes to tell firſt*, before he tell the Church? *in whoſe mouth the matter may be firſt eſtabliſhed*; ſhall the *offended* party be the *witneſſes*, and *Church*, and *Iudge*, and all; how ſo? is the Apoſtles rule obſerved; *when ye are gathered together--to deliver ſuch a one to Satan*; muſt the one gather himſelfe together to excommunicate th'other? or becauſe (untill excommunicated) he is yet a brother, muſt he joyne with the other in excommunicating himſelfe? but ſuppoſe there be more, the Congregation eſpecially (when the offender refuſes to hear the Church) becomes the offended party, and ſhall that conſiſting moſtwhat of women and children, be the ſole and finall Judge and party; or if it be, will not ſo the offending party (yet a brother untill he be cut off) and ſo a part of the Congregation; will he not be a part of that his owne judge too? 1 Co. 5. 4.

To the third objection, that over this ſingle Church, to aſſume a Church-power of judicature, is a Lording it over Chriſts heritage; driving on amaine towards a Papall Hierarchy; at leaſt a prelatique paſtorſhip of Paſtors. I anſwer,

First, there is no more Lording it over the Flocke, for 10. Paſtors

ſtors & other ſpirituall overſeers, to be joyntly over their Flocks in a Synod choſen, and deputed thereto by thoſe their ſeverall Flockes, then for three or foure to be over one particular Flock;
Act. 20. 28. why elſe doth the Apoſtle charge them *all to take heed*, to *all the Flocke over which the H. G. had made them overſeers? Why Flocke?* unleſſe to knit and knead them (though many Congregations as we have already ſeene) into one dependency of government upon their aſſembled Paſtors; and why *all*? unleſſe becauſe all the overſeers were to have a joynt Synodall care of all the Congregations? over their Flockes in the Lord, the Apoſtle places them, but while the conſents and conſciences of the Flockes are free, both in election of the Commiſſioners, and examination of their decrees by Scriptures, there's no Lording it over the Flocke.

Nixt, what driving on towards Papall Hierarchy; or prelatique paſtorſhip over Paſtors is here? all met in a Synod, are of equall
3 Joh. 9. authority; here's no place for *Diotrephes* his affected, *prehemenence over the reſt*, where ever there is number (even in the ſacred Trinity) there is order of priority, though not ſuperiority; the preſident or moderator (here) if he have the firſt, he hath no more voyces then any of the reſt, his office is to avoyd confuſion, not advance any prelation of paſtorſhip. If *Jeruſalem* be for more convenience, the place of meeting, as *Act.* 15. Yet *Antioch, Syria*, and *Cilicia* are no more ſubordinate to *Jeruſalem*, then *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch, Syria* or *Cilicia*; that common rule objected; *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet*, that where all are concerned, all muſt be conſulted in the mannaging of what occurres; 'tis here punctually obſerved, every Congregation and therein every Member votes equally in the Commiſſioners of their owne choice and deputation, with liberty of propoſing, adviſing in the Aſſemblies, and conſenting to their decrees; as we ſee plainly, *Act* 6. 5, 6. *The ſaying pleaſed the multitude, and they choſe Steven*---heer's not the leaſt uſe of *Belarmines* diſtinction of votes, as it is pretended, into *ſuffragia deciſiva* in the greater Prelates (as he cals them Biſhops Abbots, &c.) and *ſuffragia conſultiva*, in the leſſer the ordinary Divines. Nay, becauſe where all have a ſhare in the concern-

ment

ment, all muſt in the management; therefore where many neighbour churches are concerned in the danger all muſt jointly mannage it: Nay, is not the independent way both more Papall, in not admitting any ſociety with, or Appeale from the juriſdiction of one ſingle church, and a more Prelaticall Paſtorſhip over Paſtors too, and that a ſtrange one, of the Members over their owne overſeers; for in placing the authority of ordination, excommunication, and all other cenſures in the Members over their owne Paſtors: what doe they make them (upon the matter) but Paſtors of Paſtors, overſeers over their owne overſeers, and ſo without any overſeers or Paſtors but what themſelves are overſeers and Paſtors of; flatly againſt the very light of nature as well as rule of the Apoſtle and practiſe of the church.

## The third Argument, taken from *Acts* 15.

IF that all ancient and moderne writers of all ſorts (excepting onely ſome few of theſe laſt 50 yeeres, engaged by their owne Tenet of independency) have with one voice concluded this chapter, a formall preſident for Synods would weigh any thing herein, the matter would ſoone be at an end; but however the Text it ſelfe is ſo *pregnant* of this truth, that it hath of it ſelfe ſtrength enough to *deliver* it ſelfe of it.

Here's all that goes to the making up of a compleat Synod: 1. Here's the occaſion, *no ſmall diſſention* and *diſputation* about a dangerous point of Doctrine, the neceſſity circumciſion, whereby the churches are much troubled, and whereof they cannot free themſelves, without the helpe of the other churches, in a Synod or Aſſembly. Secondly, here's a deſignation both of the *Commiſſioners* and *place*, *Paul and Barnabas, with others choſen and ſent to Ieruſalem*. Thirdly, here's the matter of a Synod, not onely Apoſtles but Elders, and of ſeverall churches. Fourthly, here's the forme of a Synod, an aſſembling or couming together of theſe, thus *deputed and authorized to conſider of the matter*. Fifthly, here's the end of a Synod, after *much diſ-* Ver. 2. Ver. 24. Ver. 2. Ver. 6.

Ver.2.6. Ver:17. Ver.19. Ver.28. Ch.16.4. Ch.15.31. *putation and ſentences given, a determination of* the matter in agitation, with *authority to oblige thereby the Churches, whoſe* commiſſioners were aſſembled. Laſtly, here's the proper effect of a Synod a *cheerfull ſubmiſſion* of the churches *to this authority*, being *eſtabliſhed hereby in the faith*; all theſe we have thus almoſt verbatim in the Text, but not without ſeverall replies (however) to every one of theſe, which in their order we thus anſwer.

To the firſt, they ſay that the occaſion of this meeting, was matter of Doctrine, not fact, wherein the keyes are eſpecially to be exerciſed. I anſwer, that neither of theſe are ſo; for firſt, hereſie in Doctrine, is a moſt proper ſubject of excommunication, as abundantly appears by the Apoſtles injunction to *Titus*, Tit.3.10. *concerning the man that is an heretique, &c.* and our Saviours Re.2.2. reproofe of *Pergamos* and *Thiatyra for ſuffering them unexcommunicated that hold the Doctrine of Balaam*, 14. and the *woman Jeſabell to teach*. 20. Next, the preaching and maintaining falſe Doctrine, is alwayes matter of fact, and here in this occaſion of *great and partinacius offence*, the onely formal occaſion of excommunication.

To the ſecond 'tis replyed, that here's no formall deſignation of a Synod, onely an occaſionall meſſage by ſome from *Antioch* (none mentioned from *Syria* or *Cilicia*) to *Ieruſalem*. To which I anſwer, firſt, that as the place, ſo, the commiſſioners of *Ieruſalem* are not onely deſigned but named, which is enough to prove that the meeting was not of one ſingle congregation, (either of them above 200. miles diſtant, & conſiſting as hath appeared of ſo many congregations, and conſequently both thus meeting to determine ſo great a matter, all matter of juriſdiction is not confined to one ſuch ſingle congregation.) Next, that it neither followes, becauſe the commiſſioners of the other churches are not named, therefore they were not there, nor becauſe they were not there, therefore they ought not to have beene: as a *non ſcripto ad non factum*, ſo, *a non facto ad non debitum non valet argumentum*: but it is rather to be beleeved that they Ver.23.24. were there; for *we have heard that you have been troubled* (ſayes the Synod in their Epiſtle to *Syria* and *Cilicia*, as well as *Antioch*) and how ſhould they heare but by their meſſengers? It

ſuffi-

ſufficiently appeares in the above mentioned places, that the decrees bound the churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*; now this they muſt doe (as Maſter *Rutherford* well concludes) either as bare advice or counſell, or elſe as a formall part of Scripture, or as a Synodicall decree; not as bare advice, for then it would not have *laid it on* them *as a burthen* with charge to keepe it (as it doth,) not as a part of Scripture, for ſo, how much ſhould they have derogated from the immediate inſpiration of the *H. G.* to have ſubmitted as they did, the matter to the diſputation and deciſion of the elderſhip; the Apoſtles might ſo have determined the matter with more infalibility, without any ſuch ſo long a journey; *diſputation, aleadging, propheſies*, and giveing *ſentences* without any, *it ſeemeth good to us*; but that it is more then probable they ſubmitted it to this way, of purpoſe hereby to inſtitute this *ſynodall* way of church government; and if neither as bare *advice* nor formall *Scripture*, then it muſt be by way of *decree*, which in as much as it binds the churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia* (as hath appeared) in equity they were, or were obliged to be preſent by their commiſſioners.

Ruth Pere. and Temp. plea. p. 212.

Ver. 28. Ch. 16. 4.

Ver. 28.
Ver. 7. 15
Ver. 14.
Ver. 28.

To the third, for the matter of a Synod they further reply, that the Apoſtles were extraordinary, and ſo their meeting or doings herein, can afford us nothing of ordinary preſident. I anſwer, firſt, beſides the Apoſtles, there were here in commiſſion, *expreſly* Elders and other brethren, men of ordinary patern? Next, in what was here done, the Apoſtles doe of purpoſe ſepoſe and lay aſide their Apoſtolike extraordinarineſſe & *diſpute* and *argue* the buſineſſe as ordinary Elders, as in the like caſe they often elſwhere doe; ſo the Apoſtle *Paul*, he could have by his Apoſtolicall ſpirit himſelfe have excommunicated the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, as he did *Hymnaus* and *Alexander*; but he layes by that power and ſpirit, and charges the elderſhip of that Church (as we have ſeene) that when *they are gathered together with his ſpirit* (1) of elderſhip, *to deliver*—ſo the Apoſtle *Peter* ſtiles himſelfe to the ſame purpoſe an elder, ſo the Apoſtle *John* often. But to conclude this, if not in the meeting, where the Apoſtles and other Apoſticall men were, and which with others they mannaged what Scripture praſtiſe ſhall we follow herein

Act. 15. 2. 6.

1 Pet. 5. 1.
Phil. 9.
2 Joh. 1.
1 Tim. 1. 20.

Ut ſupra.

1 Cor. 11. 1. Phil. 4. 9. either way, how ſhall we elſe follow that rule of *following the Apoſtle.*

And whereas it is yet further replied by Miſtris *Chidley* to Mr. *Edwards*, that there was here onely one independent Church (that of *Ieruſalem*) to which the cauſe was remitted by them of *Antioch*, becauſe the parties were Members of the Church of

Act 15. 1. *Ieruſalem, certaine men which came from Iudea taught the brethren*---which proves (ſhe ſaies) the Independency of Churches; *Antioch* thinking it unreaſonable to judge ſuch as were of *Ieruſalem*. I anſwer:

However the perverters came from *Ieruſalem*, yet 'twas the *Antiochians* and the other Churches that were *troubled*, and ſome of their ſoules *ſubverted*, ver. 24. and ſo the cauſe was become *Antioches*, where the hereſie was both taught and entertained: this reply therefore (as all ill charged ones doe) recoyles; for if Churches had then beene altogether Independent, *Antioch* had undertaken and beene able (her ſelfe) ſufficiently and finally to have judged the cauſe and prevented the danger which was now her owne, who ere the Authors were; but ſending their deputed Commiſſioners to *Ieruſalem*, proves that in a mutuall danger theatning all, a mutuall Synodall prevention obliging all, muſt be conſulted: how doth it any way appeare by their ſending the one to the other, that they are either of them independent Churches? when as the effect of their ſending is by what is done at the one, by both, to oblige both. One independent Church (they themſelves ſay) cannot bind another by her decrees, but here the decres made at *Ieruſalem* bind other Churches, therefore neither ſhe nor they are Independent.

To the fourth, that here's the forme of a Synod; an aſſembling of ſuch of ſeverall Churches as are deputed and authorized to *conſider* of, and *determine* differences; it is replied firſt,

Voet. de Claſſ. Ver. 7. that whereas *forma dat nomen*, here's not ſo much as the *name* of a Synod mentioned, whereto 'tis eaſily anſwered by *Voetius*, that if the name be not, the thing it ſelfe 'tis here; where find we the name *Sacrament*, or *Trinity*, or *Independent Church* in Scripture? that the thing it ſelfe is here, and (as neere as can be)

the *name* too in the word συνηλθον they *came together to conſider of the matter*, and being *aſſembled with one accord*. Next, 'tis Objected, that here's no formall Deputation of members, with intention to conſider and determine, onely a few Meſſengers ſent onely to know whether the Apoſtles had ſent thoſe Preachers of circumciſion or no? a matter of meere *fact*, not *Doctrine*: and in *Ieruſalem* thoſe Meſſengers are received promiſcuouſly by *the whole Church*, the whole *multitude* having liberty to *ſpeake* and agree to what was done. To which I Anſwer. Ver. 6. Ver. 25. Ver. 5. Ver. 12. Ver. 22.

Firſt, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* (and certaine others with them (ſayes the Text) having had no ſmall diſſention and Diſputation with the falſe Teachers, are determinately choſen and ſent, and that not to the whole Church, *but to the Apoſtles and Elders, about the queſtion, ver.* 2. What is the *materiall* ground of Commiſſioners at Aſſemblies, but their gifts? and what the *formall*, but their ſending by the Church (ſayes Maſter *Parker* himſelfe.) and what is this queſtion they are ſent about? is it whether the falſe Teachers had bin ſent from *Ieruſalem*, or no? what need had there bin of ſo much *aſſembling*, *conſidering*, *diſputing*, and *alleaging Propheſies* of the Gentiles, *calling*, *ſentencing* thereon, (all which the Text mentions) to determine whether they were ſent or no? no: the Queſtion (the Text tels us) was, Whether, *except they were circumciſed they could not be ſaved*? Ver. 2. Ibid. Ut ſupra. Act. 15. 1.

But now, 'twas a matter of *Doctrine* not *fact*, and ſo pretended not to fall ſo properly within the compaſſe of Diſcipline or juriſdiction; now againe tis but a matter of *fact* not *Doctrine* whether the falſe Teachers were ſent or no? otherwiſe, if it had bin a point of Doctrine *Paul* and *Barnabas* (ſay they) could have ſufficiently reſolved them in't, without going up to *Ieruſalem* about it: whereas we ſee the matter is both of *fact* and *Doctrine*: firſt, whether the Teachers had Commiſſion? and then, whether Circumciſion were neceſſary? and ſuch a point of Doctrine as *Paul* and *Barnabas*, with all their Diſputation, *ver.* 2. could no way ſatisfie them in, without the authority of a Synod.

Next,

Ver. 4.

Next, I anſwer, that 'tis ſaid they were *received* (indeed) of the *Church* as well of the Apoſtles and Elders; but conſulted with, and reſolved *by the Apoſtles and Elders come together to conſider of the matter, ver. 6.* that others had liberty to ſpeake and conſent, as is collected out of *ver. 12. ver. 22.* 'tis not denyed, although by the words *multitude*, and *whole Church* in thoſe places (ſo much inſiſted on) *Piſcator*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Iunius*, underſtand the multitude and whole Church of the Apoſtles and Elders with the other Commiſſioners, the which is ſaid to be *gathered together to conſider of the matter*, ver. 6. and then, which no other multitude or Church is any where ſaid to be gathered together while it was in debate. But we deny not other members the liberty of their conſent and approbation, and freedome of conſcience to examine what is determined by the rule of Gods word, and ſound reaſon; and from which if it ſwarves to diſcent too in judgement, tho' peaceably without diſturbance; yea, and to be preſent too (as many as the convenience of the place will admit to heare the debatements (eſpecially in matters of Doctrine) otherwiſe, in matters of perſonall ſcandall *Iunius* thinkes it not ſo fit they ſhould be promiſcuouſly preſent, it being (as he ſayes) againſt charity, *nam veritatis cognitio ad omnes pertinet infirmitatum, minime*; the knowledge of truth belongs to all, not ſo of infirmities (ſo he) and much what to the ſame purpoſe Maſter *Fenner* and Maſter *Cartwright*, both conclude, that tho' the people may be preſent, yet the Decrees are the definitive acts of the Elderſhip, aleadging this very place for inſtance, that the Decrees are called the *Decrees of the Apoſtles and Elders, leaving out the brethren, which Luke had firſt ſet downe.*

Piſcat. ſchol. in Act. 15. 12. Calvin. in Act. 15. Beza. Anot. Mai. in No. Teſt. in loc. Jun. Animad. in Contr. 4. de Conc. l. 1. c. 15 n. 19.

Jun. Animadv. in Bellar. de Concil. l. 1. c. 15. n. 9.

S. Theol. l. 7. p. 277. Cartw. confut. of the Rhemiſts Anno. on Act. 15. v. 6. n. 7.

But yet how (as is further replyed?) Doth it appeare that thoſe of *Antioch* had any authority in this meeting? I anſwer, by the ſolemne audience that *Paul* and *Barnabas* (however Apoſtles) yet deputed Commiſſioners ſent from *Antioch*, ver. 2. had in this Synod, ver. 12.

Ver. 25. 28. Ver. 4.

To the fifth: the end of a Synod; an authoritative and obligatory determination of matters in difference or danger; two things are replyed, both extreames and contradictory: ſome ſay

ſay it had leſſe then the authority of a Synod others that it had more. Leſſe, as but diſpatching (ſay they) letters of advice: whereas they are plainely (we ſee) called *Decrees*, and *Decrees to be kept by, and laid upon the churches Decrees ordained and concluded to be obſerved*. However, 'tis replyed, here's no power of the keyes made uſe of, onely a contraverſie (at moſt) determined implying nor act of juriſdiction. I anſwer, an obliging the Churches *by Decrees laid on them as a burden* is a uſe of the keyes, in which uſe of them *Epheſus is commended*, *Pergamos* and *Thiatyra reproved*: beſides, this Decree is it ſelfe a rule given, wherein and whereby to uſe the keyes, upon ſuch as ſhall prove ſtubborne in defending the contrary of what is here decreed; as appeares in that reproofe of *Thyatyra* for *not excommunicating ſuch as tanght the lawfulneſſe of fornication*, here decreed againſt ver. 29. that authority which can give the rule, can (*a fortiori*) backe and puniſh its breach.

Ver. 28. Cha. 16. 4. Cha. 21. 25.

Vt ſupra. Re. 2. 2. 14. 20.

Laſtly, whereas it is on the other extreame replyed, that the obligation of what is decreed in this Synod is more then *Synodall* (1) not *alterable*, as the decrees of Synods are. I anſwer, that Synods may decree in what is perpetuall and unalterable (as in thoſe of *Nice* and *Epheſus* condemning *Arius* and *Neſtorius*) tho' it be not therefore unalterable becauſe decreed, but rather therefore decreed becauſe unalterable: beſides, the things here decreed are ſome of them alterable, as the *abſtaining from blood and things ſtrangled*; and for the reſt, tho' their truth be not alterable, the evidence of that truth is alterable and improveable by the Synods determination.

Laſtly, to the ſixth, that this had not the effect of a Synod, onely a Conſolary, not obligatory intertainment by the Churches (as they reply.) I anſwer, the Text ſayes plainely, the Churches were *hereby confirmed*, and in the next chapter, *eſtabliſhed hereby in the faith*; which queſtionleſſe they never would have beene by what was *laid on them as a burden to keepe*, vz. 28. had they not held themſelves obliged to that authority that laid it.

Ver. 31. Ver. 32. Chap. 16. 5.

## The fourth Argument, taken from 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.----*which thou haſt by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*

HEnce I argue thus: ſuch as are for Independency, admit of no other rule in Church-government but the Scripture practice or inſtitution (Maſter *Robinſon* is reſolute; *he will not* (he ſayes) *depart how little ſo ever from this practice or inſtitution*) but where in all Scripture read we of any ordination of Paſtors but by Presbyters? here we read of *Timothies* ordination by the *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*. *Titus* was for *this very cauſe left by Paul in Creet, that he ſhould ordaine elders in every citie, as he had appointed him*: rules of direction how to proceed herein are given, are thoſe rules given or the Epiſtles wherein they are, written or directed to the whole Churches of *Epheſus* or *Creet*, or to *Timothy* and *Titus* (as their inſcriptions ſpeake) queſtionleſſe if it did ordinarily belong to the whole Congregation with, or without a Paſtor to ordaine their Paſtors (as our Brethren for Independency are of opinion) thoſe Epiſtles and rules had bin directed to the whole Churches, or rather ſingle Congregations. When the Elders named in the text, Acts 13.1. *had faſted and prayed, and laid their hands on Paul and Barnabas, choſen for the worke, they ſent them away*: nor doth it any way alter the caſe, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* were extraordinary men; for this impoſition of the hands of the Elderſhip was ordinary, not that extraordinary and Apoſtolicall *laying on of hands, whereby the Holy Ghoſt was extraordinarily given*; that gift they had before, it was an ordinary ſervice that here they are the ordinary way by prayer and faſting deſigned to, and that by the direction of the Holy Ghoſt; *ſeperate me Barnabas and Paul*; and this was done by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery of *Antioch*; certaine *Prophets and Teachers there* (ſayes the text) as *Simeon, Lucius, Manaen, &c.* An inſtitution ſo ſolemne is this of impoſition of the hands of the Presbytery in the buſineſſe of ordination,

Apol. c. 4. de Presbit. Eccle. p. 47.

Tit. 1. 5.
1 Tim. 3. 2.
Tit. 1. 6.

Ver. 2. 3.

Acts 8. 17, 18.

Acts 13. 2.

Ver. 1.

dination, that the Apoſtle joynes it with *Baptiſme, the Reſurrection, and Eternall Judgment*; this ordinary impoſition of the hands of the Presbetary, herein is not miraculous, or infalible, as that Apoſtolicall one was, but limited to certaine rules and directions, for the better tryall and experience of the Parties to be ordain'd; *hands muſt not be laid ſuddenly* on any, tis laid downe what kinde of men *they ought to be before they be ordain'd*; this is to be convey'd to poſterity *that they may herein teach others alſo*, none of all which--that miraculous impoſition of Apoſtolicall hands, was any way bound either to do, or convey. By all which it appeares, that we read in Scripture that this part of juriſdiction was diſpenſed by the Elderſhip onely, and that a conſociat Elderſhip.

Heb. 6. 2. 1 Tim. 5. 22. Rev. 2. 2. 2 Tim. 2. 2. 1 Tim. 3. 2. Tit. 1. 6. 2 Tim. 2. 2.

Tis agreed on of all ſides, that two things are ſome way neceſſary towards Ordination, δωρεαις and ἐξουσια giſts, and thoſe (at leaſt) approved by the Church calling to their ordinary exerciſe: that the firſt onely is neceſſary now the Goſpell is generally publiſhed (flatly againſt the Apoſtles, *no man taketh this on him but ſuch as are called*--) beſides Anabaptiſts, Arminians, and Socinians, unleſſe it be Maſter *Robinſon*, who argues earneſtly for it I find not any that holds. And what need the Apoſtle give ſuch rules againſt ſuddenneſſe and inadvertency in the doing it, if it need not be done. Now that this tryall and approbation of the Parties to be ordained, is in the hands of the Presbitery and conſociat Elderſhip, not the whole or ſingle Congregation, (as it hath appeared by the former Texts) ſo will it further by the impoſſibility of diſcharging it by every ſingle congregation, (may be of ten or twenty beleevers with or without a Paſtor, as is the opinion of Independency. Thus,

Heb. 5. 4.

This Tryall muſt be as in point of life and faculty, ſo in point of doctrine, *of holding the forme of ſound words, of doctrine which is according to godlineſſe* (as the Apoſtle ſpeakes) now ſuppoſe there be in a congregation of twenty or more beleevers poſſibly not Schollers, or but meanly learned, a Paſtor (one or more) to be ordeyned out of four members, all ſufficiently qualifyed as in matter of externall holineſſe of life, ſo of aptneſſe to teach, whereof the one of the four Preaches that in the

1 Tim. 6. 3. 2 Tim. 1. 23. Re. 2. 2.

union of the two natures, the God-head and the Man-hood in the perſon of Chriſt (a point of great concernment (eſpecially now when ſo much by Socinians oppugned) that the nature aſſum'd the nature: a ſecond, that the nature aſſum'd the perſon; a third, that the perſon aſſum'd the perſon; and the fourth, that the perſon aſſum'd the nature; which of theſe four would they be able ſafely upon tryall to ordaine into a Paſtor? Three of theſe poſitions are blaſphemouſly falſe, for if the Divine nature aſſum'd the humane nature, then the whole Trinity, Father and H. G. as well as the Son (to whom the Divine nature is common with the Sonne) muſt be incarnate and made man, which was the Hæreſie of the Patripaſſians; if the ſecond, the nature of the God-head ſhould aſſume the perſon of man, ſo the Divine nature ſhould exiſt out of its owne ſubſiſtences or perſons, and ſo there ſhould be inſtead of a Trinity a Quaterinty of perſons, the hæreſie *Valentinius Gentilis* recanted at *Geneva*.

Note that the incarnation or aſſuming the nature of man tho it were *opus ſnd extra*, and ſo *indiviſum* to the whole trinity, yet it was but effective, the whole Trinity (1) as it was opus terminative, or ſubjective twas only the ſons. Epiſt. Val. Gentilis ad Senats Genev. p. 27.

If the third, the perſon of the Sonne ſhould aſſume the perſon of man, ſo there ſhould be in Chriſt two perſons, the hæreſie of the Neſtorians utterly deſtroying the union, for perſons cannot be eſſentially united; thus we ſee 'twere three to one (without extraordinary revelation not to be expected in ordinary diſpenſations) they would not hit upon the right, the fourth way, that of the perſons aſſuming the nature; and yet if they did, the danger were not paſs'd neither; for if underſtood in this ſence that the perſon of man aſſum'd the nature of God, both the whole God-head ſhould have beene incarnate and ſubſiſted in a fourth perſon out of its owne three, to the making a quaternity (as before) and both the perſons of man ſhould have beene deifyed made God; and Chriſt ſo ſuffering in the perſon of man (which is proper) and not the nature of man (which is common) his ſnfferings could not have beene ours, or any way extenſible beyond his perſon.

Beſides, for the manner of this aſſumption, whether it were by way of compoſition, or conjunction, or converſion, or viſion? how hard would it be for ſuch examiners to make a diſcovery into the Apoſtles. *wholeſomneſſe and ſaundneſſe of the words of doctrine* in ſuch a caſe? when as, if by way of compoſition which is

Vt ſupra.

of

of elements or bodies then the natures ſhould be mingled, which neither the infiniteneſſe, nor purity of the God-head will permit; if by way of conjunction, which is of parts, then the natures ſhould be locally diſtiugniſh'd, and both liable to extenſion and ſite with the incomprehenſibleneſſe of the Divine cannot brooke; if by way of converſion which is of termes, then both the natures would not remaine, and either the Divine would not be at all, or the humaine would be deifyed.

That of the Greek Church in miſtaking *per* for *a* in the Proceſſion of the H. G. from the ſon, of per for ex, by the neſtorians and other hæriticks about Chriſts being born of the Virgin, that of διὰ μαρίας for διὰ μαρίας in the Arrian hereſie.

Union indeed is properly of natures, ſtill remaining diſtinct and yet united in one perſon. I inſtance only in this, becauſe of the importance and preſent danger, 'twere eaſie to ſhew what great Hæreſies have riſen from *Syllabicall* and but *Literall* miſtakes and differences. So that we ſee what reaſon the Apoſtle had to conclude *the ſpirit of the Prophets to be ſubject to the Prophets*, 1 *Cor.* 14. 32. in this tryall of what they prophecy and elſe where, that if all the body were an eye, herein to examine and overſee their overſeers (as independents would have it) where were the hearing? 1 *Cor.* 12. 17. but to heare what is ſaid by way of reply to this argument, four things are here replyed or rather indeed oppoſed; for I finde nothing properly replyed hereto. Firſt, the *neceſſity*, Secondly, *power*: Thirdly, *propriety*: Fourthly, *priority* of the Church herein.

Firſt, if beleevers in a ſingle Congregation ſhould not have power to ordaine their Paſtors, it might ſo fall out, if a company of beleevers ſhould by ſhipwracke fall upon ſome Iland whence they could not get out, and where there were no Paſtor, either before they came or among them, muſt they live alwayes without Paſtors, and not rather themſelves out of themſelves ordaine Paſtors? Hereto the anſwere is very eaſie: the queſtion is, what is the ordinary way of Scripture, inſtitution in the matter of ordination? not what may be done in caſes extraordinary? Independence of every ſingle Congregation to be the ordinary way herein, is the claime of the independent party, becauſe *Paul* can cure *the ſicke with a handcerchiffe*, therfore may he not *preſcribe Timothy wine for his health.* Acts 19. 12. 1 Tim. 5. 23.

Secondly, they Object the power of a ſingle Church or congregation, thoſe they ſay that can doe the greater: (1) make a

Church; can doe the leſſe, make the Paſtors of that Church, which (at moſt) are but the ornaments conducing to the wel being of a Church, but two or three Chriſtians joyning in covenant to God, make a Church therfore much more a Paſtor. Hereto I anſwer, the greater and leſſe, wherein the argument holds muſt, be of the ſame kind, otherwiſe it holds not *a majori ad minus*; as thus, they that can make a *Paſtor*, can therefore make a *Deacon*, becauſe they are the greater and leſſe in the ſame kind; but they that can cure a ſoule of ignorance, cannot therefore cure a toe of the gout, becauſe they are a greater and leſſe of different kinds, now a myſticall or eſſentiall and a miniſteriall, or governing Church are of a different kind, and ſo the argument holds not.

Next, they object, that the Church is in all its offices and Officers a Proprietary, they are all given by Chriſt to the Church, and therefore in the power of the Church to make or ordaine. Hereto in Anſwer, we are to diſtinguiſh, What is given to the Church *ſubjectivè*, as the proper and adæquate ſubject of it is in the power of the Church; ſo a power of exhorting & reproving one another is given to every company of Beleevers, and to every Member thereof; and therefore in their power to exerciſe; but what is given to the Church *objectivè* or *finaliter*; the Church being the object about which it is to be imployed, and for whoſe ſake it is given; ſo it holds not that every thing ſhould be in the power of that to which it is given; ſo mens graces and lives given for the good of others, ſhould be in their power; ſo the Paſtorſhip ſhould be in the power of every beleeving woman or child under it.

Laſtly, the priority of the Church is objected; thoſe who have (ſay they) the conſtitutive *matter* and *forme* have the conſequutive *properties* flowing from them, but a ſingle Congregation have the *matter*, *Saints*, and the *forme*, a joynt *covenanting* to God, therefore the Offices too which are but the ſecondary *properties* flowing thence. I anſwer, the joynt covenanting to or with God, is the forme of a myſticall or eſſentiall, not of a miniſteriall or governing Church; the forme of a miniſteriall Church is a viſible miniſtry, or an overſeerſhip of Paſtors

Paſtors with, and over ſuch in the Lord, as covenant to be governed thereby; which where it is, this property or proper power of ordaining Officers, is a neceſſary and immediate ordinary concomitant thereof, as we have abundantly ſeene in the beginning of this Argument.

## The Queſtion cleared from ſuch other Objections as fall not within the Replyes *upon the foregoing Arguments.*

SOme other objections there are againſt dependency of Church-government, not ſo reducible to the former Arguments and their Replyes; but (well conſidered) they all fall under one of theſe two errors in diſputation, which Logicians call *ignoratio Elenchi* and *petitio Principij*, either they conclude againſt what is not, or they beg what is in queſtion, either proving but what is granted, or preſuming as granted what is denyed. For example:

Every particular ſingle Church is the body, ſpouſe, and Kingdome of Chriſt, *receiving like precious faith and promiſes*, and therfore every ſingle Church or Congregation hath equall power and right with any other in, and to the uſe of the *Keyes*. Al this is granted, and yet nothing proved that is in queſtion, every one Church or Congregation hath power equall to any other; what then? therfore equall to all joyning in a Synod? ſo every Member of a ſingle Church hath faith of equall price, and by the Doctrine of Independents equall power too with any other Member therein in the uſe of the *keyes*, and yet not equall to the whole Congregation; hitherto may be referred all thoſe places, *Stand faſt; be not entangled; hold faſt that which is good; if the Sonne hath made you free; where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, be not the ſervants of men*: places as earneſtly (I had almoſt ſaid as properly) urged by Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptiſts, againſt civill Magiſtracy; but if ſo to be underſtood, as much

much of *Pauls* overſeerſhip and Paſtorall government of ſuch as
Acts 20.28. are over the flocke in the Lord, and as much entitling women
1 Theſ. 5. 12. and children, if beleevers, to the uſe of the keyes, as any other of the Members.

Againe, that which concernes all alike, ſhould be mannaged and handled by all alike; all againe is here granted. it concerns all the ſeverall Churches in a Synod alike, and therefore to be handled by them all alike; and for particular Members of every ſingle Church apart, it concernes them as Members every one alike. and therefore as Members to be handled by them all alike,
Acts 6.5. that is, by their conſent and choice of their reſpective Commiſſioners in their Synods; otherwiſe if it be meant every Member ſhould becauſe alike concern'd, be therefore alike imployed in the uſe of the keyes; the falacy is in the word (*alike*) there's a twofold *alike*, an *alike* in *degree* of *intereſt*, and an alike in *kind* or quality of *exerciſe*, that which concernes all alike in the ſame kind or after the ſame way or manner, is to be exerciſed or mannaged by all alike; as two that are joyned in the ſame infeoffiment of lands for the uſe of children, are to exerciſe the truſt alike; not ſo in that wherein many or concern'd alike in the ſame degree of intereſt onely, as the word and Sacraments concerne women as well as men in the ſame degree of intereſt,
1 Cor. 14. 34. yet not therefore (againſt the Apoſtles rule) *publiquely to be administred by women*, all are alike the *finall objects* for which, but not *alike* the *fit Subjects* in which the power of the *keyes* is to reſide.

Againe, ſuch callings and Offices without which the Church of God is compleat, are ſuperfluous and humane; but the Church of Chriſt is compleat, without any claſſicall or Synodicall Offices or Officers. *Ergo*, Nothing in queſtion is herein concluded, it ſuppoſes Synods to be made up of other Offices and Officers then Congregations are, whereas there are no other Offices in Synods then what belong to ſingle Congregations, as Paſtors, Elders, &c. if any of them be occaſionally choſen for a Proponent or Moderator, of the forme or method in its proceedings; here is no new Office erected, no Paſtor of Paſtors (as is pretended) if three or foure Lawyers be all retained in a cauſe, and they agree

agree among themſelves that one ſhall open the caſe and the reſt argue it, what new Office is there herein erected.

Yet againe, Every Elderſhip hath a like and equall power (as all they ſay agree) and therefore the elderſhip of one Congregation may not uſurpe authority to ſuppreſſe the Acts and Decrees of another. All is granted, and what then? becauſe one hath not ſuch authority over another, therefore ſhall all, whereof that other is a part, not have by conſent of all ſuch an authority neither?

Next, for ſuch as fall under the ſecond errour of preſuming as granted what is denied; what ever was charged upon and practiſed by ſingle Churches of the Apoſtles owne planting, that is lawfull for Churches now to follow; but the uſe of the *keyes* in all manner of diſcipline is ſeverally charged upon, and practiſed by the ſeverall Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, with the other ſeven of *Aſia*, *ergo*. Here the queſtion it ſelfe is begged, or preſumed as granted, *viz.* That all theſe Churches were ſingle Congergrations, the contrary whereof in *Corinth* and *Epheſus* we have already ſeene, and for the other *Aſian* Churches the like is very probable, the Cities nam'd being of ſuch great receipt and extent of power, as commanding moſtwhat all *Phrygia*, *Miſia*, *Ludia*, *Troas*, and *Theſſalonica*. *Auguſtine*, *Gregory M.* with almoſt all the ancient, and generally all latter Writers, that wreſt not the ſingularity of the word Angell to the maintainance of Prelacy, underſtand it of a ſociety or Colledge of Paſtors in each Church; but they ſay further, every Church among them is reproved for its owne fault, and therefore independent; whereas, ſo is the *Corinthian*, fornicater *for his inceſt*, and the reſt of that Church for their *denying the reſurrection*; what then? therefore not dependent upon that Church; beſides reproved for their ſeverall faults and if therefore not dependent each on other, therefore ſingle congregations; how fellowes that againe? were it true that every ſingle Church had power, yet how would it follow that a Synod might not take account how they uſed it.

In loc. 1 Co. 5. 1 Co. 15.

Againe, the Popes claime of ſuperiority over Churches with appeales due to him from them is that whereby Proteſtant

much of *Pauls* overſeerſhip and Paſtorall government of ſuch as
Acts 20.28. are over the flocke in the Lord, and as much entitling women
1 Theſ. 5. 12. and children, if beleevers, to the uſe of the keyes, as any other of the Members.

Againe, that which concernes all alike, ſhould be mannaged and handled by all alike; all againe is here granted, it concerns all the ſeverall Churches in a Synod alike, and therefore to be handled by them all alike; and for particular Members of every ſingle Church apart, it concernes them as Members every one
Acts 6.5. alike, and therefore as Members to be handled by them all alike, that is, by their conſent and choice of their reſpective Commiſſioners in their Synods; otherwiſe if it be meant every Member ſhould becauſe alike concern'd, be therefore alike imployed in the uſe of the keyes; the falacy is in the word (*alike*) there's a twofold *alike*, an *alike* in *degree* of *intereſt*, and an alike in *kind* or quality of *exerciſe*, that which concernes all alike in the ſame kind or after the ſame way or manner, is to be exerciſed or mannaged by all alike; as two that are joyned in the ſame infeoffment of lands for the uſe of children, are to exerciſe the truſt alike; not ſo in that wherein many or concern'd alike in the ſame degree of intereſt onely, as the word and Sacraments concerne women as well as men in the ſame degree of intereſt,
1 Cor. 14. 34. yet not therefore (againſt the Apoſtles rule) *publiquely to be administred by women*, all are alike the *finall objects* for which, but not *alike* the *fit Subjects* in which the power of the *keyes* is to reſide.

Againe, ſuch callings and Offices without which the Church of God is compleat, are ſuperfluous and humane; but the Church of Chriſt is compleat, without any claſſicall or Synodicall Offices or Officers. *Ergo*, Nothing in queſtion is herein concluded, it ſuppoſes Synods to be made up of other Offices and Officers then Congregations are, whereas there are no other Offices in Synods then what belong to ſingle Congregations, as Paſtors, Elders, &c. if any of them be occaſionally choſen for a Proponent or Moderator, of the forme or method in its proceedings; here is no new Office erected, no Paſtor of Paſtors (as is pretended) if three or foure Lawyers be all retained in a cauſe, and they agree

agree among themſelves that one ſhall open the caſe and the reſt argue it, what new Office is there herein erected.

Yet againe, Every Elderſhip hath a like and equall power (as all they ſay agree) and therefore the elderſhip of one Congregation may not uſurpe authority to ſuppreſſe the Acts and Decrees of another. All is granted, and what then? becauſe one hath not ſuch authority over another, therefore ſhall all, whereof that other is a part, not have by conſent of all ſuch an authority neither?

Next, for ſuch as fall under the ſecond errour of preſuming as granted what is denied; what ever was charged upon and practiſed by ſingle Churches of the Apoſtles owne planting, that is lawfull for Churches now to follow; but the uſe of the *keyes* in all manner of diſcipline is ſeverally charged upon, and practiſed by the ſeverall Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, with the other ſeven of *Aſia*, *ergo*. Here the queſtion it ſelfe is begged, or preſumed as granted, *viz.* That all theſe Churches were ſingle Congergrations, the contrary whereof in *Corinth* and *Epheſus* we have already ſeene, and for the other *Aſian* Churches the like is very probable, the Cities nam'd being of ſuch great receipt and extent of power, as commanding moſtwhat all *Phrygia*, *Miſia*, *Ludia*, *Troas*, and *Theſſalonica*. *Auguſtine*, *Gregory M.* with almoſt all the ancient, and generally all latter Writers, that wreſt not the ſingularity of the word Angell to the maintainance of Prelacy, underſtand it of a ſociety or Colledge of Paſtors in each Church; but they ſay further, every Church among them is reproved for its owne fault, and therefore independent; whereas, ſo is the *Corinthian*, fornicater *for his inceſt*, and the reſt of that Church for their *denying the reſurrection*; what then? therefore not dependent upon that Church; beſides reproved for their ſeverall faults and if therefore not dependent each on other, therefore ſingle congregations; how fellowes that againe? were it true that every ſingle Church had power, yet how would it follow that a Synod might not take account how they uſed it.

In loc. 1 Co. 5. 1 Co. 15.

Againe, the Popes claime of ſuperiority over Churches with appeales due to him from them is that whereby Proteſtant

writers, prove him to be Antichriſt; therefore Synods are no leſſe to blame in claiming it; and what (I pray ſay they) is it leſſe to be under ſo many *Synodall* Lords, then to be under one *Papall* one.

Here the queſtion is againe plainly begged, *viz.* That a Synod is a diſtinct and perſonall ſuperiour to the Churcher whereof it conſiſts; when as it is but the ſame Churches themſelves aſſembled in their owne elected Deputies and Paſtors: and what more ſubjection for Churches to be under the overſeerſhip of their owne Paſtors and Elders met in a Synod, then a part in their ſeverall Congregations? beſides, what Papall claime is there of Appeales here, either *perſonally* to one, or *infalibly* to any? That Appeales are by the very light of nature of morall neceſſity wee have ſeene already; that the Popes Antichriſtianiſme conſiſts eſpecially in denying Appeals, and refuſing ſubjection to Lawfull Synods; 'tis the judgement of *Junius* and generally of all our Divines, therein is it as he obſerves that he is (what he is cal'd) 2 *Theſ.* 2. ἄνομος, *That lawleſſe one*, and then if to deny Appeales and reſerve juriſdiction from Synods be Antichriſtianiſme, 'tis eaſie to judge which ſide trenches neereſt upon it.

Jun. Animad. in Bellarm. contr. 3. de Pont. Rom. li. 2. c. 27. n. 46.

Again, this repreſentative Church of Paſtors, Elders, &c. in a Synod in as much as it muſt have (if a Church) what every Church ought to have, a *Paſtor* over it; and what is he but a Paſtor of Paſtors? and ſo if the *Synod* be a *Univerſall*; why not a *Pope* for a *Paſtor* over it? Here againe 'tis ſuppoſed as granted, that every Church conſiſts of Members and a viſible Paſtor over them, whereas in ſuch a miniſteriall governing Church as a Synod is, there is no ſuch conſtitution or relation all under Chriſt their great Paſtor, are herein their owne *Paſtors* (1) *Feeders in doing which* (as the Apoſtle ſpeakes of *Timothy*) *they ſhall ſaue themſelves as well as them that heare them*; but every Church (ſay they) 'tis the *body of Chriſt*; and is a Synod, ſuch, the body of Chriſt? whereto I anſwer, why not the miniſteriall body, as well as miniſteriall Church of Chriſt, here are the head Chriſt, and his miniſteriall Members, and why not then the body.

1 Tim. 4. 16.

Againe

Again, 'ti sagainſt common ſenſe they ſay, that a Miniſter ſhould undertake the care of more churches then one; who reads in Scripture, of a Steward over divers Families, a Shepheard over divers Flockes? how plainly againe doth this ſuppoſe what was never granted, *viz.* That a Paſtor of a congregation by joyning with others, his neighbours in a Sinod becomes either the Paſtor over that Synod (againſt what hath been already ſaid) or a Paſtor of the other congregations, whoſe Paſtors he joynes with therein; doth the eye either neglect its office to its owne body becauſe it joynes with the eyes of other bodyes in finding out a ſafe way for them all; or doth it become the eye of any of thoſe other bodyes, becauſe they partake of the benefit of that its joynt diſcovery? And if it be the time of that Paſtors abſence from his Flocke (while imployed in a Synod) that is grudged at? beſides, that the joynt care of the whole Synod in what ever may concern that Flock among the reſt may more then counterpoyſe and ſupply his perſonall abſence; what more diverſion from his cure is there by a Synod that hath power of excommunication, then by one that hath onely power of conſultation and advice? and ſuch a one our brethren that are for Independency, are contented to alow.

Againe, every church is one body, and to make it have more wayes of government then one, one in every ſeverall congregation, another in a Synod, 'tis monſtruous; ſtill more is preſumed on then granted; the Synodall and Parochiall government are the ſame in kind and ſubſtance, both of them by the ſame Officers, Paſtors, Elders, &c. and the ſame men too in both, onely in the one joyntly, in the other ſeverally; they differ onely in extent of power, and *Magis* and *minus non variant ſpeciem*, is it not the ſame govevernment ſtill for matter of ſubſtance, and by vertue of the ſame Commiſſion, that which is of the ſame Juſtices of peace at a moneths meeting, or a Quarter-ceſſion.

And yet once againe, *Cyprian* thought it fit, and is it not moſt reaſonable that every mans caſe be there heard where the fault was committed? Nothing more true, and what then? therefore becauſe there to be firſt heard, therefore there finally to be

judged without all liberty of further Appeale, that the offended party the Congregation be not the ſole and finall Judge? how unreaſonable that is we have ſeene already, *Cyprian* thinkes it unreaſonable that *Privatus* ſhould appeale from a Synod of 99. Biſhops, and that *Jovinus* and *Maximus* and *Repoſtus*, ſhould doe the like from other *Affrican* Synods to the Biſhop of *Rome*, a ſtranger to the Cauſes, and an Encroacher upon the juriſdictions of all orher Churches, 'tis in behalfe of Synods; he complaines that they ſhould appeale from the whole Church of *Affrica*, and theirs, to a tranſmarine ſtranger, and from the greater to the leſſe.

Laſtly, ſuppoſe the Synod will not permit that a Congregation ſhall reject an heretique, or not furniſh a Congregation with a Paſtor, though it ſtand in never ſo much need, muſt they not in ſuch caſes doe their owne duty and ſupply their owne wants without the Synods leave: ſtill extraordinary caſes are preſum'd that were never in the queſtion, beſides a lawfull inſtitution muſt not be invalided by the poſſibility of an accidentall abuſe, and ſuch an abuſe, as the Independent way is every way more liable to both in matter of ignorance and wilfulneſſe, as hath appeared, nd reaſon it ſelfe evinces.

The

## The Queſtion appeald in, to the judgements *of the adverſe Partie.*

REverend and deare Brethren, I have not in this friendly debate fought againſt you as againſt *Philiſtines* with the *jawe*, I have not (with that Lusitanian Souldier, the Jeſuit ſo much magnifies) ſhot ſo much as one *tooth* at you; I know he that is the *Rayler* and *accuſer of the Brethren*, was *a lyar too from the beginning*; I have not brin'd any one of theſe few arguments with the leaſt animoſity or ſcorne; *I have not ſo learn'd Chriſt*, nay, I have better then ſo learned *Tully*--& *refellere ſine pertinacia, & refelli ſine iracundia*, to confute without glory, and to be refuted without envy; (God knowes) I have aim'd herein at Verity, not Victory; I know well (as Maſter *Fuller* obſerves) that when men fall into *Studium partium*, it quickly becomes *Maxima pars ſtudiorum*; I acknowledge and admire the excellency of thoſe graces of Learning, Induſtry, Piety, that ſhines in many in moſt of you: however, give me leave in all humility and friendlines to offer to your diſ-pre-engaged judgements, theſe ſeven Conſiderations following from the *Order*, *Unity*, *Peace*, *Communion*, *Strength*, *Authority*, *and ſafety* of government.

Prælia nunc noſtri's profer Samſonia; Sampſon, Maxilla, noſtri prælia dentegerunt, apud Drexelium, in Phaetonte, p. 487. Cic. l. 1. Tuſc.

Fullers holy ſtat.

1 *Order*, 'tis the *ſinnew*, the *ſoule* of Nature, without which multitude is but a heape and Unity it ſelfe but a lumpe, the one but *indigeſtu moles*, the other but *pondus iners*, hell it ſelfe is not without a kind of *order*, there is *Belzebub the prince of Divels*; the ſacred *Trinity* it ſelfe is not without its *order*, an order of *priority* though not of *ſuperiority*, *coordinative* though not *ſubordinative* (as the Schooles ſpeake) and if all things require *Order*, much more *Government*, as being by office and deſigne *cuſtos & vindex ordinis*, the *Cherubin* and *flaming ſward*, both

keeping this *tree of life* from violation; and why not then *government of Churches*, of which the Apoſtle *rejoyced* ſo much
Col. 2. 5. *to behold their order*, and *left* Titus *in Creet to ſet them in or-*
Tit. 1. 6. *der?* But you'l ſay the *Churches* are not without *order*, and *order* in their *government* too, tho' poſſeſſed thereof each of them entirely and in ſeverall: True, but *order* is a mutuall proportion or correſpondency of all the parts, not ſo much in themſelves, as each to other; nor ſo much of each to other, as of every one to all: even *all* the parts (Philoſophers tell us) are not equall to the *whole*, there wants ſtill that *totality*, or formall notion of a *whole* in them, untill it reſult from *order* and *Unity*, the very ſoule and body of every *whole*; now if Order be in every thing thus neceſſary, and eſpecially in government, and neceſſarily as extenſive and large in its dependency (the very *hinge* that ties al its parts together) as the common intereſts and ſociety of neighbourhood under one civill government will permit; how is not ſuch a whole neighbourhood of Congregations conſiſting of men creatures naturally ſociative, and of Saints ſpiritually communicative, and that ſpecially in order of Government, the cement of both; but wanting at leaſt in the extent of thoſe externall bands and joynts of *Diſciplne* wherby (to uſe the
Col. 2. 19. Apoſtles phraſe) *the whole is knit toget her to the head Chriſt*, if this dependency of its government be taken away? I know well the place implyes rather a *myſticall* then *diſciplinall dependency*; yet look but into the beginning of the ſame chapter, and you ſhall find in the firſt verſe, the Apoſtle having *joyned* the *Church at Coloſſe with that at Laodicea and others*, prayes in the ſecond that *they may be knit*, and continuing his ſpeech to them in the fifth verſe, proteſſes his *joy to behold their Order*; an *externall* Order, elſe how could he *behold* it; and of *many Churches*, and thoſe *knit* together therein.

2 *Unity*, if Order be the *ſoule*, Unity, 'tis the *center* of Nature, every thing contends and catches at it; as without *Order* all things are but a *beſome unbound*, ſo without *Unity*, but *arena ſine calce* (as *Claudius* called *Senecas* veyne of writing) ſand without lime; all living creatures the more harmleſſe and uſeful they are, the more congregative; we ſee it in Sheep, and Doves,

and

and Bees, and what not? ſuch as affect ſolitude are moſtwhat beaſts or birds of prey and rapine, even among things inanimate; how will two turffes of earth by neighbourhood incorporate, two drops of water or flames of fire, catch at each other to become one? if *two be better then one*, 'tis by becomming *one* to each others *helpe* (as *Solomon* tels us) ſo ambitions of *Unity* is even *Faction* it ſelfe; that each Faction (we ſee) would faine unite it ſelfe and divide the other: Houſes though never ſo neere together, if not tied together in their wals and roofes, ſtrengthen each other not at all: Now if Unity (th'other ſhoulder as it were (with that of Order) in the Atlas that ſupports all things) be ſo naturall to the deſires, and neceſſary to the endeavoures of of every things perſervation; why not of government, and why not of Church-government, and therein not onely (as you alow) an *aggregative* Unity (which indeed is rather a multiplyed ſingularity, the very fry of *faction*) but why not *congregative* unity? conſider but that prayer of ovr *Saviour* *that they may be perfect in one*, and it will carry thus much (at leaſt) that many of a kind the more every way *one*, the more every way perfect. Eccle. 4. 9, 10, 11, 12. Joh. 17. 23.

3 *Peace*, if *Order* be the *ſoule*, and *Unity* the *center*, *Peace* is the *circle* of Nature; a *circle* (as it is the Embleme of perfection and perpetuity, ſo) of ſtrength too, a *ſingle* ſtraight line (the moſt oppoſite of all other to a *circle*) the more you draw it out the weaker it growes, and even that its owne weakneſſe (as we ſee in a long ſtraight rod held out) by a naturall inſtinct towards its preſervation, prompts and bends it towards a circle, as if it did ſeeke out the other end, that ſo the equall and arched poyſure, and mutuall complyance of each part to other (as in a circle) may give the whole the more ſtrength; 'twill be asked (may be) to what purpoſe is all this? who doubts but that Peace is a bleſſing, and the naturall deſire of every thing in order to its preſervation? but the Apoſtle tels us, it muſt be with *truth* and *holineſſe*, a *warrant* for it, and an *obedience* in it, which this *Dependent* Circular linked *peace* in the government of Churches (as it hath not ſo) may ſingle Churches enjoy *peace* without any this combination or twiſting of their government. I anſwer: if this kind of twiſting and claſping each into other be

be naturall to all things that are concentred and mutuall in their intereſts, much more in their government. and Chvrch-government which aimes ſpecially at *mutuall edification* and *peace*, and for Scripture warrant, that place 1 Co. 10. 17. will afford (at leaſt) thus much, that in Church-government as well as other things; the way to become *one*, is to be *partakers of one*, and that ſingle *Independency* upon this *oneneſſe* is the high way to make *ſome to be of* Paul, *ſome of* Apollos, *ſome of Cephas*, as the ſame Apoſtle and experience it ſelfe abundantly warns us, that place 2 Co. 8. 19. 23. Evinces evidently that Churches may joyne in the deputation of Meſſengers or Commiſſioners, and why not then (by them) in other acts of government?

Rom. 15. 2. 2 Co. 12. 8. 13. 10 1 Theſ 5. 11.

--Many are one bread--for we are all partakers of one bread. 1 Co. 1. 12

--who was alſo choſen of the Churches to travaile, v. 19.--the Meſſengers of the Churches v. 23.

4 *Communion, communion of Saints* is an *Article*, as of our *Creed*, ſo of our *Charity* too; *Toſtatus* upon that of *Matthew* 18. *Tell the Church*, diſputes it at large, whether it be an Office of *Juſtice*, *Prudence*, or *Charity*? he cannot deny it to be of all three, tho he concludes it to be more, eſpecially of *Charity*; and *charity* is a vertue, that as it hath no *exceſſe* but *errour*, ſo it hath no *errour* in *extent*, 'tis onely in the diſorder of that extent that it can erre: but whether an office of prudence, juſtice, or charity, or what ever elſe that is good? the more *communicative*, the more good; and why not then in the government of Churches? *to doe good and to communicate forget not* (ſayes the Apoſtle) and that we may know wherein we are eſpecially ſo to communicate, the next verſe tells, *obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves*. Certainly, if *Union* be the *Center*, and *Peace* the *Circle*; *Communion* drawes the *Lynes*, which as ſo many ſpokes meeting and faſtning in this *Center* of unity, tye this *Circle* of peace to it: from all which reſults the next conſideration, and that is *Strength*.

Heb. 13. 16.

6 *Stength*, the Churches of God are not only (with *Iſrael*) expos'd to thoſe *fightings on every ſide*, but ſubject too to thoſe *fightings* and *feares within and without both*, and ſo had need by all poſſible convenient meanes to ſtrengthen and fortyfie themſelves, that they maybecome (as our Saviour deſcribes them) *terrible as an Army with banners*, and how can this be better done

Pſal. 56. 2 Co. 7. 5

Can. 6. 10.

then

then by twiſting the *Cords* of their *diſcipline* ſo, as they may (as *Solomon* ſpeakes) *not be eaſily broken*, if the three joynt inſtruments of ſtrength and action be as Philoſophers and reaſon tell us, bones, ſinnewes, and ſpirits in their naturall offices each to other; the more knit together throughout the whole ſociety or neighbourhood, by the ſinnewes of dependance actuated by the communicative ſpirits of love and care each of another, the inflexible bones of diſcipline are, the more ſtrong in all muſt it needs bee: the Apoſtle implyes as much in that Church of *Epheſus* (undeniably more then one ſingle congregation, as hath appear'd) the whole body whereof, he would have *fitly joyned together compactedly, that which every joynt ſupplyeth, according to the effectuall working in the meaſure of every part, making increaſe of the body unto the edifying of its ſelfe in love.* Eccl. 4. 12. Eph. 4. 16.

6 *Authority*, the Ancients drew obedience kneeling at the footſtoole of Majeſty, Sceptred with Authority, and incircled with rayes of reverence round about, the *Perſians* were wont to give their ſentences of judgement, arm'd and on horſebacke: obedience is a Ward or Pupill, and apt to play the trewant if not alwayes under the eye of its guardian; reverence, that *Cato* in the boſome; that *Seneca* would haveevery man to have that mount *Sinai* flaming into the faces of offenders; we ſee thoſe to whom God requires obedience, he ſtamps on them in ſome meaſure of his image and name too, he calls them Gods, and ſits in the aſſembly of Gods, and all little enough to win them obedience. How much then diſcipline ſo liable to contempt, needs the helpe of Majeſty, Authority, Reverence, (ſo it be not *Lordly*) to make it (what it ſhould be) *terrible like an Army with Banners?* and againe, how much more of becoming Majeſty, Authority, and Reverence, and conſequently of Obedience; aSenate of Elders aſſembled conciliats to what it ſhall decree, or ſentence, then a ſingle congregation (of may be a Paſtor, and ſome few beleevers, may be at moſt but one more in number then ſuch as are to be ſentenc'd) every mans reaſon and experience tells him. Let no man (ſayes the Apoſtle to *Timothy*) *diſpiſe thy youth*; it appeares then that youth in whom ſoever, ſo a *Timothy*, is apt to be diſpiſed. *Rebuke with all authority,* Pſal. 82. 1. 1 Tim. 4. 12.

Tit. 2. 15. (ſayes the ſame Apoſtle to *Titus*) *let no man deſpiſe thee*; it appeares no leſſe then, that Authority is the way to prevent contempt. And how deſpicable and weake in the hands of ſome Jud. 16. 7. ſtronger, and raſher *Sampſon*, ſuch *greene cords* of cenſure ſingly twiſted (may be) by ſome young Paſtor (may be) with ſome dozen more beleevers (may be) but two or three are like to prove, I appeale in to your owne judgments.

7 *Safety*, each things ſafety is to it natures higheſt Law; Creation (they ſay) 'tis an actuall providence, providence an habituall creation; if creation bring from a not being, 'tis providence that keepes from it: all theſe former, conſiderations of *Order, Unity, Peace, Communion, Strength, Authority*, are but Providences, meanes or purveys to its end, *Safety*. Now (beſides how much the civil State may in its ſafety be endangered by a multiplying and as it were retailing entireneſſe of Church power into ſo many hands (which I leave to others whom it more concernes) how much will this way of Church independency be ſure to endanger it ſelfe? every congregation throughout the Land; ſuppoſe conſiſting of 120 Members apeece (the *maximum quod ſic* of a Congregation (as ſome conceive from that of *Act.* 1.) will not be able to alow their Paſtor and other Officers ſuch maintenance, as will countervaile ſo large an expence of time and coſt in ſtudy, but that moſtwhat they muſt enter young upon the miniſtry; while men may arive to ſettled eſtates at thirty yeeres of age, in other profeſſions they will not ordinarily ſo long reſerve themſelves for the Miniſtry from all other courſes, upon ſo vaſt an expence of both time and mony; we ſee in the midſt of all the preſent, greater invitations of preferment; many divert to other callings, onely becauſe not able to ſpare ſo much of time and coſt upon hope of no more of preferment attainable herein, even the beſt times; thoſe not long after the Apoſtles have been enforced to let downe the ſacerdotall age from 30. to 24. onely out of ſuch temporall reſpects which in all ages have beene (at leaſt) the firſt motives to the miniſtry; now when every ſuch ſingle Congregation ſo governed, ſhall have entire and *Independent* power of *government* and *liberty* of *doctrine* accountable in neither to Aſſemblies, how

Hiſtor. of the Counc. of Trent, p. 297.

apt

apt ſuch young Paſtors will be (through want of experience) to erre, and (through thoſe *juveniles calores*, thoſe heates and headineſſes incident to greene heads) to perſiſt in that errour, and their Congregations with them, and thereupon if the errour be not generally received to breake and ſubdivide into peices, and in the end into nothing? I appeale in, to your judgements; beſides what a deale of envy and rage (apteſt alwayes to kindle where relations are neereſt) will it in all likelihood draw on, and ſtirre up in ſome (may be of greateſt temporall abilities and worth in the Congregation) to be finally ſentenced by the ſingle doome of their every way (ſave in office) ſo much inferiors? many in an aſſembly or Synod as they are not probably ſo eaſily pervertible or ſeducible, as not ſo ſoone reduced into one way of working on, ſo being many and not ſo neere in relation, the envy is eaſily broken or (at leaſt) blunted: And for that *encreaſe of Chriſtianity* by Church-government (which the Apoſtle ſo much drives at) ſuppoſe in ſome of the remoter parts of Wales, or of the North, where in all probability within twenty or thirty miles compaſſe a Church of this independent conſtitution could not be made up, and theſe to meet in one place onely; what ſhould become of all the reſt not admitted as Members into this Church? where ſhould they all (that which you alow to all) reſort to the word preached whereby to be converted? how ſoone would theſe ſet up Counter-Congregations of their owne elementing, ſuch as would be ſure to maligne, and in the end ſwallow up this of yours. (Vide infra)

All theſe I know will be called pannike humane feares (at leaſt) and Chriſts one inſtitution ſaid to be proofe againſt them all? but that is it that yet remaines to be proved, that it is his inſtitution in the meane time (had we no better arguments) it is very probable in as much as *in rebus divinis ratio habenda eſt humanæ ſocietatis*, that in as much as God hath alwayes had in matter of government whether civill or Eccleſiaſticall, a reſpect to humane ſociety; fitting both (as we ſee) in the *judiciall* and *ceremoniall* lawes to the *nationall indole* of the *Jewes*; I ſay it is hence rather to be concluded, that God aiming in Church government at the ſafety and encreaſe of Chriſtianity (as the Apo-

Witneſſe Mr. *Cannes* owne depoſition from the miniſtry by them of the ſeparation, rejecting him and all that took part with him. See Maſter *Pagets* defence of Church government, pa. 171.172. Eph.4.16. Col.2.19. 1 Theſ. 3.12. 4.10.

Tit. 2. 15. (ſayes the ſame Apoſtle to *Titus*) *let no man deſpiſe thee*; it appeares no leſſe then, that Authority is the way to prevent contempt. And how deſpicable and weake in the hands of ſome Jud. 16. 7. ſtronger, and raſher *Sampſon*, ſuch *greene cords* of cenſure ſingly twiſted (may be) by ſome young Paſtor (may be) with ſome dozen more beleevers (may be) but two or three are like to prove, I appeale in to your owne judgments.

*Safety*, each things ſafety is to it natures higheſt Law; Creation (they ſay) 'tis an actuall providence, providence an habituall creation; if creation bring from a not being, 'tis providence that keepes from it: all theſe former, conſiderations of *Order, Unity, Peace, Communion, Strength, Authority*, are but Providences, meanes or purveys to its end, *Safety*. Now (beſides how much the civil State may in its ſafety be endangered by a multiplying and as it were retailing entireneſſe of Church power into ſo many hands (which I leave to others whom it more concernes) how much will this way of Church independency be ſure to endanger it ſelfe? every congregation throughout the Land; ſuppoſe conſiſting of 120 Members apeece (the *maximum quod ſic* of a Congregation (as ſome conceive from that of *Act.* 1.) will not be able to alow their Paſtor and other Officers ſuch maintenance, as will countervaile ſo large an expence of time and coſt in ſtudy, but that moſtwhat they muſt enter young upon the miniſtry; while men may arive to ſettled eſtates at thirty yeeres of age, in other profeſſions they will not ordinarily ſo long reſerve themſelves for the Miniſtry from all other courſes, upon ſo vaſt an expence of both time and mony; we ſee in the midſt of all the preſent, greater invitations of preferment; many divert to other callings, onely becauſe not able to ſpare ſo much of time and coſt upon hope of no more of preferment attainable herein, even the beſt times; thoſe not long after the Apoſtles have been enforced to let downe the ſacerdotall age from 30. to 24. onely out of ſuch temporall reſpects which in all ages have beene (at leaſt) the firſt motives to the miniſtry; now when every ſuch ſingle Congregation ſo governed, ſhall have entire and *Independent* power of *government* and *liberty* of *doctrine* accountable in neither to Aſſemblies, how

Hiſtor. of the Counc. of Trent, p. 297.

apt

apt ſuch young Paſtors will be (through want of experience) to erre, and (through thoſe *juveniles calores*, thoſe heates and headineſſes incident to greene heads) to perſiſt in that errour, and their Congregations with them, and thereupon if the errour be not generally received to breake and ſubdivide into peices, and in the end into nothing? I appeale in, to your judgements; beſides what a deale of envy and rage (apteſt alwayes to kindle where relations are neereſt) will it in all likelihood draw on, and ſtirre up in ſome (may be of greateſt temporall abilities and worth in the Congregation) to be finally ſentenced by the ſingle doome of their every way (ſave in office) ſo much inferiors? many in an aſſembly or Synod as they are not probably ſo eaſily pervertible or ſeducible, as not ſo ſoone reduced into one way of working on, ſo being many and not ſo neere in relation, the envy is eaſily broken or (at leaſt) blunted: And for that *encreaſe of Chriſtianity* by Church-government (which the Apoſtle ſo much drives at) ſuppoſe in ſome of the remoter parts of Wales, or of the North, where in all probability within twenty or thirty miles compaſſe a Church of this independent conſtitution could not be made up, and theſe to meet in one place onely; what ſhould become of all the reſt not admitted as Members into this Church? where ſhould they all (that which you alow to all) reſort to the word preached whereby to be converted? how ſoone would theſe ſet up Counter-Congregations of their owne elementing, ſuch as would be ſure to maligne, and in the end ſwallow up this of yours. (Vide infra)

All theſe I know will be called pannike humane feares (at leaſt) and Chriſts one inſtitution ſaid to be proofe againſt them all? but that is it that yet remaines to be proved, that it is his inſtitution in the meane time (had we no better arguments) it is very probable in as much as *in rebus divinis ratio habenda eſt humanæ ſocietatis*, that in as much as God hath alwayes had in matter of government whether civill or Eccleſiaſticall, a reſpect to humane ſociety; fitting both (as we ſee) in the *judiciall* and *ceremoniall* lawes to the *nationall indole* of the *Jewes*; I ſay it is hence rather to be concluded, that God aiming in Church government at the ſafety and encreaſe of Chriſtianity (as the Apo-

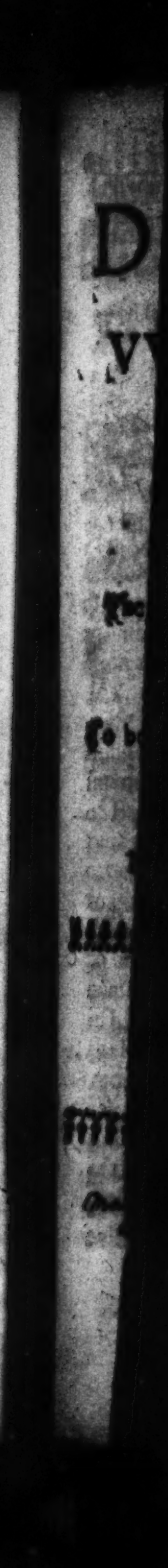
Witneſſe Mr. *Cannes* owne depoſition from the miniſtry by them of the ſeparation, rejecting him and all that took part with him. See Maſter *Pagets* defence of Church government, pa. 171.172. Eph.4.16. Col.2.19. 1 Theſ. 3.12. 4.10.

Apoſtle many wheres) would never inſtitute as the ordinary way therein, that which without little leſſe then daily miracles, would ſo apparantly and experimentally, runne it upon all the ſhelfes of danger and ruine. However this we are ſure of, that the Churches of the Apoſtles owne gathering; though ſetled under extraordinary Apoſtolicall men, did yet ever and anon neede the Apoſtles frequent viſits; and what to doe, but *to ſet in order* (as the Apoſtle himſelfe ſpeakes) *things when he came*? the Churches then we ſee beſides their ſingle and reſidentiall Paſtors needed others to ſet things in order in them; and why not much more now? I am ſure *Solomon* tels us, that it is *in the multitude of Counſelours that there is ſafety*, and experience tels us that that Councellours without any authority are but foyles without point or edge to be plaied with, not truſted to in caſe of ſafety.

1 Cor. 11.24.

Pro 11.14.

*FINIS.*



ary
les,
all
of,
set-
and
but
*he*
en-
nd
is
ri-
nt
in

15

# THE DANGER

VVherein the Kingdome of England now ſtandeth; K. Great Britain & Ireland

AND

The Remedy for the preſent ſafety thereof.

WITH

The propoſitions drawne for ſure defence of the ſame, and the annoying of all the wicked Adverſaries.

WORTHY

To be read of all them that wiſh well to the proſperity of all true hearted Engliſh-men.

BVT

More ſpecially for all Merchants and Sea-men whatſoever.

May. 2.

LONDON.
Printed for *Richard Palmer*, 1643.

# THE DANGER

Wherein the Kingdome of England now stands,

AND

The Remedy for the present misery thereof.

WITH

The proposition drawne for true obedience of the Lawe, and the annoying of all the wicked Adventures.

WORTHY

To be read of all them that wish well to the prosperity of their learned English-men.

BVT

More specially for all Merchants and Sea-men whatsoever.



LONDON,
Printed for Rubens Palmer, 1642.

# The danger wherein the Kingdome of England standeth: And the Remedie.

AS soone as the House of Austria had incorporated it selfe with Spaine, and by their new discoveries had gotten themselves the wealth of the Indies, they began to affect and have pursued a fifth Monarchy.

The Emperour *Charles* who laid the foundations, ought in Italy by surprising Rome: from this he was thrust by force and respect of Religion. *H.* 8. being made *caput fœderis* against him, he then attempted it in High Germany, practising by faction and force to reduce those petty States to his obsolute power, this *H.* 8. againe prevented him by tying the Lutheran Princes under his confederacy and assistance: his son the second *Philip* pursued the same ambition in the Netherlands of Germany, by reduction whereof hee intended to make his way further into the other: this the late Queen of England interrupted by siding with the afflicted people on the one part, and making her selfe that head of the Protestant League, the Princes and others drawne in as a secret of State, the countenance of France to give reputation and assistance to them, and security to it selfe. Spain seeing his hopes thus fruitlesse by those unions and strength, began first to breake if he may the unity of France and England, but finding the common danger to be a fast tye, he raiseth up a party in that kingdome of his Crowne, by which the French King was distressed, that had not the English Councell and assistance relieved him: Spaine had then removed that great & next obstacle of his ambition: his Councell now tels him from these examples, that the way to this great worke is impossible, so long as England lay in let in his way, and that the remove of that matter be the first of his meanes: these drew on those secret practises often against the Queene, and his open fury in 88. which they

they following the advice of her Councell would never after admit of peace, winning thereby the hearts of our loving people, and ever found hands and money at home, and by that security her alliances abroad, securing to her confederates all her time freedome from feare of Spanish slavery, and to endeare her gold and happy dayes in glory: Spaine then by the wisedome and power of that great Lady disposed, sole of his meanes to hurt, though not of his desires, makes up with her peacefull Succession of happy memory, that golden League, that disarming us at home by opinion of security, and giving them a power in our Councell, by believing their friendship and pretended marriage, gave them a way to cherish among us a party of their owne, and bereft us of power abroad to lead us into jealousie, and sow dissention betweene us and our Confederates, by which wee see they have swallowed up the fortune of our Mrs. brother, the rest of the Imperiall States distressed, the King of Denmarke by that quarrell diverted, the Swedens assistance by the warres with the Poland, and moving them now with the offer of the Danish Crowne, and whether from the plot or our fatality, it hath cast such a bone betwixt France and us, as made themselves by our quarrell of Religion, a fast confederate unto us, a dangerous enemy, so that now we have left no assurance against their malice and ambition: but the Netherlands where the tye of mutuall safety is weakened by daily discontents, bred and fed betweene us by some ill affected by both our securities, that from the doubtfulnesse of friendship as we now stand, we may rather suspect from our domesticke actions, if they grow too furious they will rather follow the example of Rome in her growing, that felt it equall, honourable, and more easie, *dare Regem quam subjugare provinciam*, considering the power they have in their hands, then to give any friendly assistance to serve the private condition of our State, you may therefore see in what termes we stand abroad, and I feare me at home, for resistance in no better state, there must be to withstand a forraigne invasion, a proportion both of Sea and Land forces, for to give an enemy an easie passage and a port to releeve him, is no lesse then to hazard all at one shocke. It is to be considered that no march by Land can be of that speed to make head against the landing of an enemy, nor no such provision as to be maister of the Sea: to this point of necessity there can be no lesse then 240000. pounds for the Land force, if it were of an

offensive

offensive Warre, the men of lesse livelihood were the best found, and were used formerly to make such war *pro gaumen Regis*: if we made no further purchase by it: but for the safety of a Commonwealth, the wisedome of all times did never interest the publique cause to any other then such as had a portion in the publique adventure, and that we had in 88. when the care of the Queene and of the Councell did make the body of that large Army, no other then of trained bands, which with the Auxiliars of this Realme amounteth to no lesse then 24000 men: neither were any of those drawne forth of their Counties and proper habitations before the end of May, that there may be no long agrievance to the publique such discontentments being given to our, a more fatall enemy then any forraigne forces, the carefull distribution and direction of the Sea and Land forces being more fitting for a Councell of Warre, then a priviate man to advise of. I passe over, yet willing when I shall be called humbly to offer up such observations, as I formerly gathered by the former like occasion in this Realme, to make up this preparation, there is requisite two things, money and affection for they cannot be severed. It was well and wisely said of that great Chancellor Lord *Burleigh*, in the like case, to the late Queene, I winne hearts and you have their hands and purses. And I finde that of late diffidence hath been a defect in the one it hath unhappily produced the other, in gathering them of money for this present need, there are requisite three things, speed, assurance, and satisfaction, and the way to gather as others in the like cases have done much, by the path which hath been formerly called *Via Regia*, being more sound and speedy, for by unknowne and untrodden wayes it is both rougher and more tedious, and seldome succeedeth, this last way although it take place as it were by a supply in a farthing receive no generall denyall yet since it hath drawne many to consult with themselves and others in the consequence, and now I conceive pressure on their liberties and against Law, I much feare that if any againe it be offered either in the same forme or by privy Seale, it will be refused wholly, neither finde the tenants of those lands have profited any other effect then a little relaxation to them and others to forbeare, for although it went at first with a cheerefull assurance, yet when we consider the commotions and other formes incident to such like services as that though it hangs in hand, the many delayes that were, was easily seen that

such a summe by Parliament granted is farre sooner, and more easily gathered, if any will marke the succession of times to produce inevitable necessity to enforce it, if it be denyed either in generall by excuse of impossibility, or in particular of some select persons, which is the customes of some Countreyes, and so conclude it for the King, as for the publique State, *summa Regal.* he must looke for this to be told him, that seeing necessity must conclude alwayes to gather money, as lesse speedy or assured then that so practised, which cannot be fitter then by Parliament, the successe attendeth the humour of the headlesse multitude, that are full of jealousie and distrust, and so unlike to comply to any unlewfull course of levy but by force, which if used, the effect is fearfull, and hath beene fatall to the States, whereas the Parliament, referth principally, or the Regall person who may with ease and safety mould them to his fit desires, by a gracious yeelding to their just petitions: if a Parliament then be the fittest and most speediest assurance, and a safe way, it is fit to conceive what is the best way to act and worke.

First, for the time of the usuall Summons, reputed to be forty daies, be too large for this present necessity, it may bee by dating the Writ lessened, since it is no politique Law, so that a care might bee had that there may be a County day after the Sheriffe hath received the Writ before the time of sitting, if then the summe to be levied bee on e agreed of for the time, there may bee in the body of the Grant an Assignment made to the Knights of every County respectively, whoe under such assurance may safely give security proportionable to the receits of such as shall advance in present for the publique service any summes of money.

The last and weightiest consideration, if a Parliament be thought fit, is how to remove or comply the differences betweene the King and Subjects in their mutuall demands: and what I have learned among the rest of the multitude, I will freely declare, that your Lordships may be the more enabled to remove and answer those distrusts that either concerne Religion, publique safety of the K. and State, or the just liberty of the Commonwealth: for Religion is a matter that they lay nearest to their consciencs, and they are led by this ground of jealousie to doubt some practice against it: first for that against the Spanish match which was broken by the graceſull industry of my Lord of *Buckingham*,

*Ingham*, out of his religious care, as hee there declared, that the Articles there demanded might lead some such sufferance as might indanger the quiet, if not the state of the Reformed Religion here, yea there have (when he was an actor principally in the conditions of *France*) as hard, if not worse to the preservation of our Religion passed, then those with Spaine, and the suspect is strengthned by the close keeping of the agreements in that point there concluded, it is no lesse an argument of doubt to them of his affections, in that his mother and many other his ministers of neare employments about him, are so much affected, they talke much of advancing men popishly devoted, some placed in the Campe of nearest service and chiefest command, and that the Recusants have got these late yeares by his power more of courage and assurance then before; if to cleare these doubts which perhaps are worse in fancy then in truth he take a course it might much advance the publique service against the Spanish humour, that have more of violent passion then setled judgement, and are not the least of the opposite number in the Commonweale.

2. The next is the misfortune and losses of men and munition in all our late undertakings abroad, which the intemperate spirits impute to want of counsell and the more sublime wits to practice.

Thirdly, they began with the Palatinate, and lay the fault of the losse there on the imputed credit of *Gondomore*, distrusting him for the staying of supply to Sir *Horace Vere*, when Colonell *Cicil* was cast on that imployment, by which the King of Spaine is become the master of the Kings childrens intelligence; and when Count *Mansfield* had a royall supply of forces to assist the Princes of our part for the recovery thereof, either plot or error defeated the enterprise for us, for Spains advantage.

Fourthly, that Sir *Robert Mansfields* expedition to Anglers should purchase onely security and guard of the Spanish coasts.

Fifthly, to spend so many thousand pounds in Cales voyage against the advice of the Parliament, onely to warme the king of Spaine to be in a readinesse, and so weaken our selves, is taken for such a signe of ill affection to him amongst the multitude.

Sixth y, the sending of so much munition and victuals and not by my Lord *Willoubies* journey, is conceived an unthrifty error in the director of it to disfurnish our selves in fruitlesse voyages made, to some

over

envious Enemies a plot of a danger to turne off our quarrell of Spaine, and ruine on any, that the Parliament petitioned and gave supply to support upon vnioall of France, and so after a new and happy tye gave much talke that we were not so doubtfull of Spaine as many wished since it was held not long agoe a fundamentall rule of the State and our Security by the Lord *Burleigh*, that nothing can prevent the Spanish Monarchy, but a faction of the two Princes to make head against his ambition, and we see by this disunion a fearfull defeat hath happened to Denmarke and that party, to the advantage of the Austrian family.

And thus far of the wasts of the publique treasure in fruitlesse expeditions, an important cause to hinder any new supply in Parliament.

Next another feare that may disturbe the smooth and speedy passage of the kings designes in Parliament is the late waste of the Kings livelihood, whereby is like, as in former times, to raise this jealousie and feare, that when he hath not of his owne to support his ordinary expence, for which the lands of the Crowne were setled unalterable and called *Sacra patrimonium Principis*, that then he must of necessity resort to those assistances of the people which ever were assigned for the benefit of Commonwealth, from hence it is like there will be no great labour and stiffenesse to endue his Majesty to an act of resumption, since such desires of the State have found an easie way in the will of all Princes from the third *Henry* to the last: but that which is like to passe the deeper into their disputes and care, is the late pressure they suppose to have beene done upon a publique liberty and freedome of the subject commanding their goods without assent by Parliament, confining their persons without speciall cause declared, and that made good against them by the Judges lately, and pretending a writ commanding their attendance in forraigne war, all which they are like to enforce as repugnant to maine positive Lawes and customary immunities of this Commonwealth and these dangerous distrusts of the people are not a little improved by this unexampled course, as they conceive, of retaining any Land Army in winter season, when former times of greatest feare produced no such, and makes them, in their distracted feare to conjecture idlely, it was raised more to subject their fortunes to the will of power, then of Law, and so make good some former breach upon their liberties at home, then defend us from any force abroad, how far such jealousies if they meet with any usuall disorders of

lawlesse souldiers, or an apt distemper of the loose and ready multitude which will easily turne away upon any occasion in the State that they consider whats to a glorious pretence of Religion and publique safety, when the true end will be onely rapine of the rich, and the ruine of all, is worthy a provident and preventing care.

I have thus far delivered with what freedome you were pleased to admit such difficulties as I have taken up among the multitude, which may arrest if not remove impediments to any speedy supply of Parliament at this time, which how to facilitate may better become the care of your Lordships judgements, then my ignorance, onely I could wish to remove away a personall distrust of my Lord of *Buckingham* among the people, he might be pleased if there be a necessity of Parliament to appeare an advisor thereunto.

And what satisfaction it shall please his Majesty of grace to give at such time to his people, which I could wish to be grounded by president of his best and most fortunate Progenitors, and which I conceive will largely satisfie the desires and hopes of all, if it may appeare in some sort to be drawne downe from time to the people by the zealous care and industry that my Lord of *Buckingham* hath to the publique unity and content of which there is no doubt but he may remaine not onely secure, but merit a happy memory amongst them of a Realmes Patron for to expiate the passions of the people at such times with sacrifice of any of his Majesties servants, I have ever found, as *Ed. 2. R. 1. H. 6.* no lesse fatall to them after, then to the minister in the end.

Propositions drawne for sure defence of the kingdome, and the annoyance of the enemy of the same.

1. *THat every Shire in England should be enjoyned to set forth at the charge of the County one ship, well manned and victualled for seven months, and to be of the burthen of 500. 400. or 300. 200. 40. Tunnes at the least, according to the ability of the Shire, in the opinion of the State.*

2. *That every Port or Sea Towne according to the ability enjoyned to doe the like. London may well furnish out 10. Bristol 3. and the rest accor-*

ding to their ability: and such of the Sea Townes as are not of ability to set out Ships of the burthen aforesaid, to furnish out Pinnaces of 60. or 80. Tunnes for light horsemen or Intelligencers.

3. Those Ships will arise to about 80. sayle, and to be devided into foure squadrons, adjoyning to every squadron one of the Kings Ships for their Admirall.

4. The first squadron to lye off and on the westerne Hands, and as farre as Cawarde for Brasil men, the Caracke, the Plate Fleet, and all other trading that way.

5. The second squadron to lye off the Southerne Cape, and to low with Groyne, for here such shipping as shall goe out of Spaine or Portugal, and if occasion be to joyne with the former squadron.

6. The third squadron to lye betweene the Groyne and the mouth of the Sleeve, or Silley, to stop such shipping as trade in those coasts.

7. The fourth squadron to keepe the narrow Seas, and the Dunkirkers take all the French trade, and so northward, and this squadron to be still releeved with fresh Ships, as the other shall grow foule, or come into any mischance, so that the squadron may continually keepe the most part of the yeare.

8. That no master of any of those Ships be owners, or have any part in her that he goeth out master of, for they will bee unwilling to bring their ships into any sight or danger, and use many tricks and devices, especially if there be any ignorant Captaine, therefore it is expedient likewise that every Shire shall nominate a Captaine for the Ship it furnisheth out, for the avoiding of ignorant and insufficient Captaines.

9. That in London, Port smouth, or where else the State shall think fit, there be store-houses appointed for the receipt of such prizes as shall be taken by any of the foure squadrons.

10. That every County and Sea towne that furnisheth out the said shipping, may nominate and have a Commissioner of their owne election that may have power in behalfe of the Counties and Sea-townes as the other Officers that shall be appointed for the King and the Lord Admirall for the opening of deckes of the prize, receiving the goods into the said store-house, and for the dividing and disposing them accordingly.

11. That what prizes soever any of the foure squadrons shall take, be brought into the Port Townes where those store-houses are appointed, and the benefit of all prizes what squadron soever of the foure soulde there in

to-

to be divided, the King's part and the Lord Admirals being allowed, the severall Counties and Sea Townes of the Kingdome of Ireland according to the burthen of their shipping: and not particularly to such Counties or Sea Townes unto which the squadron of ships belonging, that shall send in the said prises.

12. That it shall not be lawfull for any of the said ships to breake bulkes or open the deckes of any prises they take, but naile them downe fast untill they be brought in at one of the port Townes and then the Officers for the King with the Comissioners for the Counties to open them.

13. That after the King's part and the Lord Admirall is separated with such allowance over and above as shall bee proportionable for the Kings shipping, being Admirall, the rest to be distributed as aforesaid to the use and benefit of all the Counties and Sea Townes in generall, and not particular to each Counties unto which any of the foure squadrons belongeth that sends in the said prizes, the pillage above decke onely excepted, which doth belong to the Officers, Saylers, and Souldiers of the squadron that tooke the said prize.

14. That for the present and speedy execution hereof, every County or Sea Towne that is not furnished with shipping, shall hire untill they can build them, which to be limited to performe within a certaine and convenient time.

15. The charge [illegible] yeare to 200000. pounds, which God blessing them within the yeare these will re-imburse, and by the benefit of the prizes afterwards they will have stocke sufficient, with increase for new victualling and setting forth the ships the second yeare, and so from time to time.

16. The kingdome will hereby increase their shipping, and breed and make good store of good Sea men, and we shall hereby be masters of the seas so as our Merchants shall travell safely, and we shall much prejudice the French and Spanish Nations, or any other that are enemies, or not in league with us.

Whereas I have set downe the full charge of these foure squadrons of ships for 7. moneths to amount to the summe of 200000. pounds, it is not to be understood that the subiects shall disburse so much more by two parts, for they shall need to lay out no more for fitting out of their Ships, then for the well victualling of them, which will come but to a third part of this former

former Sum 66666 pounds for the Saylers, Officers, and Owners of the Ships will admit neither wages nor fraught until the comming in of the Ships (and God blessing our designes) there may be taken in Shipping and Goods in 7. months Space ten times that value, before one penny be distributed.

FINIS.

H

D

O

Fo

A

# Exploits Discovered,

## IN A DECLARATION

Of some more proceedings of Serjeant Major CHVDLEY, Generall of the Forces under the Earle of STAMFORD:

AGAINST

Sir RALPH HOPTON.

Fully relating the great overthrow given to him: As it was sent in a Letter from *Exon*, (*Aprill* 29.) to a man of note in *London*.

ALSO

A briefe rehersall of the severall Victories, which the Enemy, (to their great discouragement) hath of late received by the Parliament Forces.

---

Dan. 11. 32.

*And such as doe wickedly against the Covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries: but the people that doe know their God, shall be strong, and doe exploits.*

Psal. 60. 4.

*Thou hast given a banner to them that feare thee: that it may be displayed, because of the truth.*

---

LONDON,

Printed for *B. Allen*, and *T. Underhill*. *May*. 2. 1643.

# Exploits Discovered.

IN A

# DECLARATION

Of some more proceedings of Servicke Major GRYDLEY, General of the Forces under the Earle of STANHOPE:

AGAINST

Sir RALPH HOPTON.

Fully relating the present Estate of Sir Ralph Hopton's Army, and the Rebels Resolutions to oppose the Parliament Forces.

ALSO

A brief account of the Several Victories, which by the Blessing of God, have been obtained by the Parliament Forces.

# Exploits Discovered:

## In a DECLARATION of some more proceedings of Serjeant Major *Chudley*, &c.

SIR,

Our good Newes was very welcome, but the Lord was pleased to ordaine as good for us to returne unto you: The Treaty ended with the *Cornish* on Saturday, at which time our Army being at *Liston* 3 miles from *Launceston*, and Serjeant Major *Chudley*, lately a Captaine in *Ireland* against the Rebells, who as then, so now, is a Gallant stout Souldier, being Commander in chiefe, having present intelligence that there were but 1200. in *Launceston*, and that they had no great Cannons, upon advice with his Councell of Warre resolved to set upon the Towne, it being very probable that hee should carry it, which if it might be gained, would prove of good consequence, both for inlet, and a place of retreate; wherefore he resolved to set upon the Towne on Sabath day in the morning (his Army consisting of 1700. Horse & Foot,) they soone beate off the Guard from the Bridge, which was done by Captaine *Drakes* Troope; then they make away with their Pioners, to March towards the Towne through the fields; the enemy perceiving this, lin'd all

the hedges with Musqueteers, who were beaten out by our men like Sheepe: About 10 of the clock they began the fight.

Then they gathered into a Body, (I meane the CORNISH) when our men did much execution upon them with their Ordinance, slew many men of note, among whom was Captaine *Basset* of *Silley*, and beat them home to the walls: but they having ten Regiments of fresh Men come into their supply, though our men fought very valiantly and kept their ground, they with their multitudes had almost surrounded them, and plaid upon them on every side, whereat our men began to be dismayed, and about 400. shranke away from them; and those that had bin much tyred in the fight all day, supposed all would be lost: but it pleased God in the very nick, that Sir *John Merrikes* Regiment of the LONDON gray Coates (about 700. which were billeted at *Tavistocke*, about 12. miles off) were sent for, and hearing the Fight made the more haste, they came in about five of the clocke in the evening, led on courageously by a godly Minister, the Earle of *Stamfords* Chaplaine, in the absence of their Commander, and upon their first onset kil'd 19. of them, and caused them to retreat, (who if they had stayed but one quarter of an houre, it is supposed our men would have given the day for lost: but thus it pleased the Lord to relieve us, so that our men had liberty to make an honourable retreat, Major CHVDLEY himselfe with 20. Horse fetching off a great Gunne, which was in danger, which worke was refused by Major *Price* an old Souldier, who had command to doe it, but he refused, saying, it was impossible; yet it was brought off by him, and all their Ammunition, so that they lost nothing they had; about seven Men slaine, who were brought off also with about 40. hurt men, they kil'd above 100. (hurt as some Prisoners

which

which were taken, confeſſed) above 500. Thus GOD wrought for us, and fought for us at that time: our men retreated that night to *Liſtun*, but becauſe they could not quarter there with conveniency and ſafetie, on *Monday* they Marched to *Okeington*, there to Quarter.

On Tueſday the *Cornish* with 5000. Foote and 500. Horſe came towards our Armie (having had intelligence that our Sea-men were all ſent to make good *Bidford* and *Baſtable*, and that we had not above 1100. Foote and foure Troopes of Horſe) ſo that they made no queſtion of Victory, and through the negligence or perfidiouſneſſe of our Scouts they were come within 2 miles of *Okeington*, before our men had any perfect intelligence, which put them to a great ſtraight, either to forſake the Town and looſe all their Guns and Ammunition, (which might have undone the whole County) or elſe to hazard all the Horſe by adventuring to give them a bold charge, which being debated in a Councell of War, it was propoſed by Major *Chudleigh*, to divide the Horſe into ſix Squadrons, who ſhould keepe a large diſtance betweene every Squadron, that they might appeare to compaſſe more ground in their Front then all the Cornish Army, which courſe was approved and followed: About 10. at night in this forme, it being very darke, they being come forth upon *Sworren* Downes, our Horſe being in all but 108. the *Cornish* Army very neere, together with their Horſe in the Front; the firſt Squadron being but 19. Horſe gave the Charge, and Routed their Horſe, who ſoone broke the Rankes of their Foote, and the reſt of our Horſe following the Charge very cloſe, broke through their whole Army and killed many, doing execution forward and backward, and thus they did twice, and forced the enemies to flie in much confuſion, onely there was a ſmall body that kept together and guarded

their Ordnance, which was once taken, but at length carried away by their own guard, which our men could not force, they rested not running untill they came to *Lancaſton*: Thus God himſelfe alone got the Victory; they loſt 500. Armes, which our men got, and the Country next morning had the gleaning of much more; our men broke a multitude of their Pikes, which they conceived not worth the carrying away: there were taken 12 Priſoners, two foote Colours, one Coronet, and Colours, which was Sir *Nicholas Slanning's*, 13 Drums; Sir *Ralph Hopton* had his Head-piece taken from him, and was almoſt chokt therby, begg'd for his life, and ſo eſcaped unknowne, but very narrowly: The Lord *Mohun* was taken and pillaged: but egreneſſe to get more plunder, cauſed the Trooper that took him, after he had his money, to let him eſcape, it being ſo darke indeed that one could hardly diſcern another: It is ſuppoſed that Sir *Nicholas Slanning* was pillaged alſo.

Many of the Troopers have gotten good ſtore of Money and Pillage; an Iriſh man weares the Lord *Mohuns* Cloake. There were ſlain above 100. upon the place. In all this fight we loſt not one man, though there were about 12. hurt, not above 2. that are dangerous. When our men gave the laſt charge, it being about 12. of the clock, it came to extream weather, Lightning and Thunder, and much Raine, which beat into the enemies face, having neither hedge nor ditch; it ſtroke much terror into them, that ſome among them that had better diſpoſitions then the reſt, betook themſelves to Prayer, and ſaid, That *now they ſaw that the Lord did fight againſt them*. It is ſuppoſed that the moſt of them are ſpoyled, for ever being Souldiers againe, for they marched before they reſted (beſides the time they fought, without having meat or drinke) above 30. miles. The glory is the Lords, which

I desire still to acknowledge, to his praise.

One thousand pound, and two brave Horses, were taken by Colonell *Strond* in *Somersetshire*. With my due respects unto you and my good Sister: I am

*Aprill* 29. 1643. Yours *H. R.*

---

## POSTSCRIPT.

There is a Cloak-bag of Sir *Ralph Hopton's* taken, and much Pillage upon Pack-horses: It is reported that the Earle of *Stamford* should say, *The discoverie in that Cloak-bag was worth a million:* There was found the Kings Letter written with black lead, on white Tiffany, dated but last week; there was also a Catalogue of all the Contributers (in *Somerset*, *Devon* and *Cornwall*,) to their Warre. Certainly the things are of consequence, but they are kept secret; only the Secretary *Nicholas*, and the Kings Letters got abroad: the effect of which was, *That he should hasten to* Oxford, *and take* Exon *by the way: that for more ease and speed Horse all his Foot*, as he said *the Rebels did*, &c.

## The Names of the Commanders of this 108. Horse, were,

Lieutenant Generall *Chudley*, Sonne to Baronet *Chudley*.

Captaine *William Gould*.

Captaine *Pym*, Son to Mr. *Pym* of the House of *Commons*.

Captaine *Drake*.

All

*All as Valiant Men I am perſwaded as ever drew Sword, and did all of them march in the Front, fighting and coming on ſo furiouſly, that the Cornish-men thought they had beene Divells.*

---

A brieſe reherſall of the ſeverall Victories, which the Enemy, (to their great diſcouragement) hath of late received by the Parliament Forces.

ALthough our ſinnes deſerve utter deſolation, yet in regard God hath vouchſafed his preſence and aſſiſtance to his people in ſtirring them up to ſtand for his Cauſe willingly, and to pray unto him earneſtly, and in giving many Victories to thoſe that fight his Battailes, there is ground of hope that God will goe on in his own worke for our good: which that hee may doe, we muſt be thankfull for what hee hath don already. For his goodneſſe to us at *Keynton field*, who by two Regiments Routed and put to flight the Kings Army. At *Brainford*, who by two broken Regiments kept back and incountered with the Kings whole Army. At *Bradford*, who by about 60. men overcame a great Army that came againſt them. At *Chicheſter* and *Wincheſter*, delivering thoſe places into the hands of our Army, though greatly oppoſed. At *Middlewich*, for the great Victory given there to Sir *William Brereton*. At *Salt Heath* neere *Stafford*; for his good hand with his people in *Lancaſhire*. For the good ſucceſſe of Sir *William Waller*: and alſo of my Lord *Fairefax*; for preſerving his Servants ſo ſtrangely at *Lichfield Cloſe*. I ſay, nor theſe, nor any of the mercies of God ought to be forgotten, but thankfully remembred; and in eſpeciall manner we ought to be thankfull for the wonderfull worke of God wrought for his Servants in *Devonſhire*, as appeareth by the Letter before ſpecified. *FINIS.*

K.

P

And

pl

From

T

that, hea
hand of
of Chri
men fuf
det a ski
fo well
on their
this of
poote P
terme
held ou
had the
ther Po
be deliv
was it
Cavalie

Befo
king to
of the
ſlain,

the

Numb. 38.

SPECIALL

# PASSAGES

## And certain Informations from ſeverall places, Collected for the uſe of all that deſire to be truely Informed.

From *Tueſday* the 25. of *April*, to *Tueſday* the 2. of *May*. 1643.

THis laſt week, much good News hath Providence effected for us, moſt of which, being alreadie (in Print) particularly related; t'will be leſſe needfull here to repeat. As for the buſineſſe of *Reading*, ſo full of wonder it was, to all that heard it, that whether it was wrought by the immediate hand of God, or the impotent arme of fleſh, all that have any thing of Chriſtianitie in them may eaſily diſtinguiſh. That almoſt 4000. men ſufficiently provided of Ammunition and proviſion, and under a skilfull Governour too, ſhould ſo willingly yeeld up a Town ſo well fortified, at the end of 12. dayes, not once ſallying out upon their enemy; nor in all that time kill 40. of his men: was not this of God? had not Heaven infatuated them? What ſhall 200. poore Parliament Dogges (as thoſe that are worſe then dogs do terme them) kill 500. of Cavaliers at *Leichfield Cloſe*: wherein 200. held out 16. dayes againſt 4000. and longer would have done, had they had but powder ſufficient. And ſhall *Reading*, where neither Powder, nor Ordnance, nor men, nor victuals were wanting; be deliver'd up in a leſſe time! What's the matter? was it the Cauſe? was it Conſcience? or are the Roundheads become the terrour of Cavaliers?

Before this ſurrender, we had a partie of the Kings guard making towards *Reading*, and they were ſurpriſed, by another partie of the Parliaments, at *Dorcheſter*, where were many of the Kings ſlain, and above an hundred taken priſoners; and more might they

have taken, had not the Souldiers been too forward in plundring, (which errour of late they have too much uſed) even before they had fully finiſh'd their victory.

After this comes another partie of a larger ſize (and back't with ſtrength and greatneſſe, the King, Prince *Charles*, Prince *Rupert*, with the Generall, being all in the Field together, with 45. troops of Horſe, and 9. Regiments of Foot, beſides Dragooners) all which armed thē with much confidence) to relieve the ſaid town; againſt which goes the Lord *Roberts*, and Coll. *Bartlay*; Regiments, with ſome Horſe (but the Horſe will tell you, they could not ingage for the hedges; or they had no Commiſſion to fight, or no need of Command; or elſe they wheele about to ſecure the Reere, and ſpurring too hard, cannot return till the time of pillaging: and no wonder: For many ſay it was truly anſwered, when the queſtion was asked, *But what did the horſemen?* The anſwer was, they keep out the moneys, beggar the Countreys, take up the beſt quarters, hoyſe up the rate of proviſion, vapour it about, and ſtand ſtill when they ſhould fight) The Foot went on very reſolutely, fought valiantly, beyond all expectation, yea 'tis wonderfull to conſider, how God inabled theſe young Souldiers (as many of them were) incouraging one another with the Armour of proofe, the Word of God, ſome ſaying, God will fight for us; others, God will cover our heads in the day of Battell: and many cried at laſt, Let God have the glorie, let God have the glory; when they ſaw their Enemies flie before them; after they had killed (with the loſſe onely of foure or five men) 80. in the place; and 40. more they ſlue in purſuing of them (for they fled amaine, leaving behind them above 200. Armes) many that were ſlain of the Enemies were Officers, and divers other Gentlemen, beſides ſome they carried away. After this the Articles of *Reading* were agreed on, which were but ſuch as uſually paſſe in the delivery up of fortified towns, and therefore for brevitie, omitted.

Thurſday morning ſomewhat neer noone, the Enemy with bagge and baggage began their march out of the Town, about 3500. more like a congregation of hedge-rogues (excepting ſome few) then ſerviceable Souldiers, beſides a huge company of whores and Baſtards, little leſſe in number (ſay ſome that ſaw them) then the Souldiers themſelves.

And

And the Souldiers seeming much discontented with the termes of agreement, his Excellencie, (for their better incouragement) allotted to every man twelve shillings extraordinarie; and by letter apologiz'd to Prince *Rupert*, for the unrulinesse of his souldiers, assuring him that the fault was chiefly, in the Governour, for suffering Armes to be carried away contrary to the Articles of agreement; for though many had no swords, and some but one Pistoll, yet some took more then their own; which the Souldiers observing, thought it improper for one man to have two swords, or two hats.

The Governour himself was carried forth in a Litter, and surely he was either dead or dumbe, for he never appeared at the Treaty.

Next after Collonel *Austin*, came some Coaches and the Waggons, then the Horse and Foot, with their white, blue, and red Colours flying, and so they marched away. Tis reported by some, that his Excellencie had many Diamond rings, and scarlet coats presented to him at his entrance, which were taken from the slaine of the Enemie; and it must not be forgotten, what the enemies to the Parliament before out of their confidence had spoken, *viz.* that *Reading* could not be taken, if it should then the Parliament had got the day; but if not, then had the Kings Cavaliers got it, being not ashamed to make the Quarrell onely between the King and Parliament, without any distinction, before twas some factious persons in Parliament; but now are content to give their best aid and assistance even against the Parliament: good common-wealths men!

There is found in *Reading* many barrells of powder, an hundred quarter of Oates, which had there been nothing in the Towne besides, it would have made good bread, which makes the delivery of the Towne a greater wonder.

There is a speech as if divers *London* Captaines and other Citizens were in the fight when the partie of the Kings fought at *Cosson*-bridge, and are some of them wounded, but it will be found to the contrary, that they intended his Majestie no such service.

This last weeke there was a great debate in the House of Commons, about sending the Bishop of *Canterbury* to *New-England*, who ever moved it was sure one of his best friends; for, he by that meanes would have saved his head, which he hath certainly as

much made forfeit of, as any Subject that ever breathed upon *Engliſh* ground: undoubtedly, the Earle of *Strafford* was a Saint to him, and never did the tythe of his offences: And beſides, to ſend him to *New-England*, might be a meanes to ſave his ſoule; but for preſent its deferred, it being not according to the rules of Parliament, to ſentence a man and doe judgement upon him before he be heard; but how ever, it minds the Houſe of a ſure place, to which they may ſend hundreds, and not feare their getting back againe to be revenged upon them in after times.

The Houſe alſo tooke into conſideration, the ſuperſtitious uſe of *Cheap-ſide-Croſſe*, and concurred with the Citie to have it removed; a very good worke when the chiefe Magiſtrates reforme, the adverſary is ſilenced, but when things are reformed by the multitude, it begets clamour, and takes off the hearts of many from the Magiſtracy: If any ſay, it was needleſſe, they are miſtaken, ignorant people are much taken with babyes; and beſides, the Papiſts ſeeing their gods throwne downe, will be out of hope, and ſo either be packing to *Rome*, or goe to Church.

The partie that was gathering from *Coventry*, *Leiceſter*, *Derbie*, and other places, to have relieved *Litchfield-Cloſe*, but too late, are now ſet downe before it, and are like to regaine it, to the great griefe of the Deane and Chapter, who gave Prince *Rupert* no ſmall aſſiſtance at the taking it, not onely with their purſes, but alſo by their prayers, as appeares by a Petition which they preſented to him.

*A Letter from Sergeant Major* Chidleigh *(of his defeating Sir* Ralph Hoptons *forces) dated at* Oakehampton, *Aprill* 26. 1643.

By the intollerable neglect of our lying deputy Scout-Maſter, we were ſurprized by the enemies whole body of horſe and foot laſt night at this Towne, and by the incomparable dulnes of Sergeant Major *Price*, the carriage of our Ammunition and Artillery was diſmiſſed, contrary to orders expreſſe againſt it, ſo that I was forced to this ſad *Dilemma*, to looſe the Ordnance, and all that we had here (which in all probabilitie would have been the ruine of the whole Kingdome) or to hazard a deſperate charge (which for ought I know might have routed the whole Army) but I choofed

the

the laſt of them, and declared it to the Captains of horſe, who approved it to my wiſh, and I cannot ſay, but it was a ſudden inſpiration from heaven; for I drew out of that Towne, one hundred and eight horſe that I had into a forme, which I never ſaw before, onely fit for that ground which was undiſcovered by the enemy, lying cloſe as an Ambuſcado under the ſide of an hill. by many ſmall diviſions, with great ſpace between; wee ſpreading more ground then the enemies whole body, who being come upon us within Carbine-ſhot undiſcovered, we charged him through all together, and chaſed him to his very reare, about three miles: but being ſo mixed in his vaſt body, and encompaſſed on all ſides with multitudes (though routed) yet neceſſitated to defend themſelves with the butt-ends of their Muskets, and their ſwords; ſo that indeed our Van was then deſerted by the more ignoble part of our Troopers, and the enemy ſtuck cloſe to their Ordnance, which made them more confident then Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Souldierſhip, who with all his horſe and Dragooners was quite run out of the field, with the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Nicholas Slaining*, and about 500. as our intelligence by priſoners aſſures us: To goe through with the buſineſſe, our horſe being capable to be ſuddenly rallied, I cauſed all the Muſqueteers in the Towne to be ſpeedily drawne out, and upon the hearing onely of two ſhot of the enemies Ordnance, without any more hurt, all forſook us and run away, ſo I cauſed them to throw away their Matches, (to avoyd the enemies diſcovery of the rout) and ſticking the ends of them in the *furſes*, our enemies ſuppoſing our men to be there, when they were almoſt at *Crediton*, (and by that example all our horſe run away too, except the Officers and about a dozen Souldiers, which I was forced to perſwade back with a battoone,) and with them and the Officers, we have relieved one another by turnes, and kept the field ever ſince, and kept the enemy in apprehenſion, whereby he continued his retreatie (though rallied into ſome better order) and we have gathered up ſome hundreds of Muſquets, and taken ſome Colours, with many Drummes, and ſome priſoners, the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Nicholas Slaining* eſcaping hardly, one of them being taken and ſtript, and not being knowne let goe, and the other (the laſt) taken by the skarfe, but being well horſt, eſcaped, ſo that I doubt he is ere this neerer *Pendenis*, then *Launceſton*; Captain *Gould*, and

Captain

Captain *Drake*, behaved themſelves ſo exactly and gallantly in the Charge, as deſerves much honour: Captain *Pym* was forward and reſolute, but deſerted by his Troope: our whole Armie conſiſts now of Captain *Gould*, Captain *Drake*, Captain *Pym*, Captain *Downing*, and Captain *Fenton*, with ſome dozen Troopers, and my ſelfe; for by taking turnes, we keep the high-way upon the Downs, by preventing & cutting off the Intelligencers of theſe malignant parts; we maintaine the honour of our Garriſons, and keepe the enemy in apprehenſion, by beating in his ſix Scours by three of ours, and our ſhadows, we are left the onely defence of this Countie. One thing forgotten was, that we compelled them to give us the word, which was *Lanceſton*, by meanes whereof (when their vaſt body was mixed) we came off with ſafetie.

This was taken in the laſt nights fight neer *Oakehampton*, from the Cavaliers; written in ſilk cyphers.

Sir, It ſo much imports His Majeſties ſervice, and the preſervation of his Forces under your command, that you march preſently neer to the Army, to be within the aſſiſtance and reach of the place, where his forces are quartered, as he hath commanded me to ſignifie to you his pleaſure, that all other conſiderations ſet aſide, you forthwith repaire with all your Forces to *Exeter*, and from thence ſo faſt as you can with ſafetie into *Sommerſetſhire*, and as ſoone as you ſhall be come ſo near, as that His Majeſties Horſe may come conveniently to you; His Majeſtie will ſend ſome ſtrength to bring you, where the Quarters of your Forces and His Majeſties may be able and readie to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen each other, for the mutuall ſecuritie, and the better ſuppreſſing of ſuch ſtrength as is practiſing to be raiſed in *Sommerſet*, *Wilts*, and *Glouceſterſhire*, by the Rebels, who are bent with much violence and crueltie againſt you, as His Majeſtie is credibly advertiſed.

*Charles Rex.*

Our command is, That you uſe your beſt diligence to horſe all the Foot, both Muſkettiers, and Pikes, (as Dragoones) that they may march to us with the more eaſe, ſpeed, and ſafetie: Thus the Rebels do by ſweeping all the Commons where they come, and we authoriſe you to do as much.

Together

Together with this, was taken divers Letters of *Devon* Malignants, and others, and the Rolls or Books of their severall contributions, and assistance to the maintaining of the Warre against the Parliament; Sir *Ralphs* and his Armies Secretarie had it behind him in a Post-mantle, who being killed, a trooper of ours took and rode away his horse, and brought all into *Exeter*. The Earle was troubled with the gout at that instant, but when he saw what it was, he suddenly leapt out of his chaire for joy, without sense of his former paine, and said it might happily yeeld 40000. l. if it were well managed.

Sir *William Waller* (say the Letters yesterday) hath taken Hereford. The manner is said to be thus; As he was advancing against it, he received order from my Lord Generall to come forthwith to him; the wise and warie Knight made as if he would venture all to attend my Lord, but observing that his departure was an occasion of those in Hereford to grow carelesse, returns upon them suddenly and assaults the Citie. They within desired a parley, and and were at last content to go with bagge and baggage, but Sir *William* would not, and thereupon gave a generall assault. Whereupon the Town yeelded to the discretion of the Conquerer: he found in the Town much of the best riches of the adverse party in that County which he can find a way to improve; he had between 2. and 3000. Armes, and besides many other prisoners of inferiour qualitie these of note: The Lord *Shilmore* and his sonne, Sir *Rich. Lave*, Sir *William Crofts*, Mr. *Welch*, Sir *Walter Pye*, Mr. *Conisbie* and his sonne, Colonel *Herbert Price*, Sir *Samuel Aubrey*, Coll. *Tho. Price*, Dr. *Rodgers*: the two Dr. *Goodwins*, Colonel *Talbot*, Dr. *Evans*: He is returning to Worcester, being not willing to sit still, but to haste the Work that things may come suddenly to a period.

Colonell *Cromwell* is said to have taken *Crowland*, after a dayes fight off and on: the enemy got out of the Towne with their Captain *Styles* a Papist. There is a speech as if in the interim *Lincolne* were in part taken by the enemy, not unlike but they might be invited to it by some that have been forward for the Parliament formerly; it may prove a good retyring place or randevous for the royall Armyes, in case they remove from *Oxford*, and then *Lincolnshire* men may hap to repent their newtralitie, as well as *Reading* their compliance.

There

There came out a book this week called the Kingdomes Case, it proves clearly that the people of *England* not onely may indeavour the destruction of that Army rayſed, now in actuall warre against the Parliament, although borne up by his Majesties royall Command and Seale, but that they ought so to do. Who ever is convinced of this truth, to further his expedition in a worke that so much concernes the whole Kingdome, and in some respects Christendome, let them take these Motives.

First, If it be protracted & be not finished this Summer, a famine must needs follow the next Winter, which hath usually the pestilence attending it, and though the rich may escape famine, yet the pest sweeps and spares neither young nor old, noble or ignoble, let therefore all that love ought thats good, labour by treatie or sword to put an end to civill warre.

Secondly, Beggery will suddenly follow, and the richest will drinke deepest of that Cup; for in combustions he that hath no coate, no horse, no money, gets them, as lamentable experience hath already told us.

Thirdly, all trade will cease abroad and at home, and then money not being had, the Souldiers on both sides must live by spoyle and plunder; and which must needs bring a universall povertie; and if the glory of a King be in the multitude of his Subjects, it will be no great glory, that they are all beggars.

Fourthly, this Kingdom will be wholly disinabled from subduing the Rebels in *Ireland*, and let it be considered by the people of *England*, that as that warr was first commenced thereby, the better to bring *England* to Popish treason, so it continued here thereby to make the better agreement for them in *Ireland*.

Lastly, the French King dying, and a Peace being concluded or truce between *France* and *Spaine*, which undoubtedly looke for these, will joyntly aid the Catholick cause, which they call this Warre; and so we may runne a hazard of a totall ruine if not a Conquest.

The Judges who have for a long time been forborne, having an impeachment against them, are to shew cause why they should not be called to their answer.

The Lord Gen. hath declared his intentions to march this day or to morrow, and hath desired that some may be sent to secure *Reading*, and accordingly it will be done.

M
C

# MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

## Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

*The ſixteenth VVeeke.*

SUNDAY. *April* 16.

IT was advertiſed that the *Rebels* of *Lincolnſhire* having committed many ſpoiles and outrages over all the Countrie, *plundering* and robbing His Majeſties good and loyall Subjects; as namely Sir *Philip Terwhit*, Sir *Rob. Thurold*, Maſter *Thom. Thurre* (whom they plundered both of his office, and goods) and Sir *Will. Pelham* whom they plundered thrice, firſt of his horſes, next of his ſheepe, and laſtly of his goods and houſhould-ſtuffe, came not long ſince to Maſter *Dymockes* houſe at *Methringham*, by the appointment of the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and others of their cheife Commanders; which houſe they did not onely plunder of very much coſtly and rich furnitures, of ſeverall ſorts and uſes, which were ſtored up there, amounting in the whole to 3 or 4000l, but did deſcend at laſt unto ſo poore a degree of pilfering, as to loade away the *turfe* and *coale* laid in for fewell, and to ſteale the *frocke* belonging to the very *ſcullions*: and that when as a ſervant of the ſaid Maſter *Dymocks*, deſired that he might take an *Inventory* of his Maſters goods, being then carried unto *Lincolne*, the Earle did threaten the poore fellow to ſet him faſt in the ſtocks, for ſuch a faithfull peece of ſawcineſſe. All which ſaid Gentlemen have been thus dealt with by the *Rebels* there, for no other reaſon but becauſe they have bin attendant on His ſacred Majeſty, according to

their bounden duety; the last of them (Master *Dymmocke*) being *hereditary Champion* to the Kings of *England*, was more rudely handled, because conceived to be more specially ingaged in this present service, for maintenance of His Majesties *Crowne*, and *Regall* dignity.

It was this day advertised out of those parts also, that His Majesties Commissioners for the County of *Lincoln*, being sensible of those rebellious Acts, and other misdemeanors committed daily, by the said Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and the *Committee* for the two Houses of Parliament, now resident in the said County, by whose authority and power, Armes have beene raised against His Majesty, and His good Subjects there destroyed, robbed, and ruined, had warned a Sessions to be held at *Grantham* on Tuesday last, for framing an enditement to be presented to the *Grand Jurie* for that County, against those perturbatours of the publicke peace. And that the said Earle of *Lincoln*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and their *Accomplices*, intending to prevent so great an injury, as they conceived the progresse of the law to be, drew the same day towards *Grantham* with all their forces, consisting of 800 horse and 200 *Dragoons*, under the conduct of young *Hotham*, who came unto their aid from *Hull* but the night before, with foure troopes of horse, and 200 foot or thereabouts, which they called the *Gray-coats*. But the *Commissioners* appointed for the Sessions, having a strength of 9 troopes of horse and 500 foote, under the command of Collonel *Cavendish*, made towards them upon their very first approach, and followed them five miles to an heath neere *Ancaster*, and charged so furiously upon their foote, though placed with great advantage amongst the furres, that they were quickly routed, and throwing downe their Armes, yeilded themselves unto the mercy of the Victors; and having made way over and thorow their foote, did after with like furie fall upon their horse, who not able to indure the charge fled in great disorder, and were pursued almost to the walls of *Lincoln*; in which pursuite many were killed and taken Prisoners, and the whole body of them totally routed. The number of the foote who were taken Prisoners was about 300 (one hundred of the which was of *Hothams Grayecoates*) amongst whom the men of principall note were two *Captains*, & five or six *Lieutenants*, and *Ensignes*. There were also taken Prisoners five *Cornets* of horse, & one *Cornet* of Dragoons; the rest (and amongst them the generall himselfe, young *Hothams* Excellency) saving themselves for a new overthrow by a speedy flight. It is said also that besides the routing of the

the forces, and the taking of ſo many Priſoners, His Majeſties commanders had got 140 muskets and 60 caſe of Piſtols, with much other Armes, which in their flight the *Troopers* and *Dragooners* had left behind them. And here it is to be obſerved, that in a *London-Pamphlet* which came out ſince *Chriſtmaſſe*, report was made of a great battell fought in this very place, (when none ſuch was fought) and that this Collonel *Cavendiſh* who was now victorious, had beene ſlaine therein, with divers other Gentlemen of name and note, when neither he nor they had then took up Armes for the defence and ſervice of His ſacred Majeſty. The author of which pamphlet if he pretended (as ſome of them doe) to the ſpirit of Propheſie, miſtooke the time; though he gueſſed rightly at the place, and failed in pointing out the *Victors*, though he found a *battell*: but if he intended to write an hiſtory, he is now better furniſhed then before.

By Letters this day intercepted from the two *Hothams* to Maſter *Pym*, and other of their friends in the Houſe of Commons, dated *April* 7. it was adverti ſed amongſt other things, that *If money were not ſent downe ſpeedily, the affaires of the two Houſes in that Country would ſuffer irrecoverably, and be beyond their power to helpe it: that whereas there were three good Livings within ten miles of* Hull, *the leaſt of which was worth* 200l per annum, *belonging to as many malignant Prieſts, one of them might be ſequeſtred for Maſter* Charles Hotham, *ſonne of old Sir* John; *a ſecond to his Cozen* Saltmarſh, *and a third to Maſter* Nye: *That they had loſt all by truſting too much unto the* Scots, *who would ſtill be* Scots: *That the Earle of* Newcaſtles *Army was very numerous, and had many good Commanders in it, and that the Souldiers too would be very good, if they were ſuffered to have time to exerciſe them: That the Lord* Fairefax *by quitting* Selby, Cawood, *and other places on the River, had put himſelfe out of all poſſibility of being ſupplied with Forces, Armes, or Ammunition, by the way of* Hull: *That by dividing their Forces into ſo many parcels, the Lord* Fairefax *being in the Weſt, the* Hothams *in the Eaſt, and ſome few at* Lincolne, *they could neither doe the publick good, nor themſelves.* And finally, *that when the Towne and Caſtle of* Scarborough *was regained by the Earle of* Newcaſtles *Forces from Captaine* Buſhell, *there were alſo taken two Catches with ten Peeces of Ordinance, and* 80 *men in them, which had beene ſent from* Hull *by* Hotham, *to make good the place: That they could wiſh the Treaty were at an end, that they might fall to it in good earneſt: That*

their bounden duety; the laſt of them (Maſter *Dymmocke*) being *hereditary Champion* to the Kings of *England*, was more rudely handled, becauſe conceived to be more ſpecially ingaged in this preſent ſervice, for maintenance of His Majeſties *Crowne*, and *Regall* dignity.

It was this day advertiſed out of thoſe parts alſo, that His Majeſties Commiſſioners for the County of *Lincoln*, being ſenſible of thoſe rebellious Acts, and other miſdemeanors committed daily, by the ſaid Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and the *Committee* for the two Houſes of Parliament, now reſident in the ſaid County, by whoſe authority and power, Armes have beene raiſed againſt His Majeſty, and His good Subjects there deſtroyed, robbed, and ruined, had warned a Seſſions to be held at *Grantham* on Tueſday laſt, for framing an enditement to be preſented to the *Grand Jurie* for that County, againſt thoſe perturbatours of the publicke peace. And that the ſaid Earle of *Lincoln*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and their *Accomplices*, intending to prevent ſo great an injury, as they conceived the progreſſe of the law to be, drew the ſame day towards *Grantham* with all their forces, conſiſting of 800 horſe and 200 *Dragoons*, under the conduct of young *Hotham*, who came unto their aid from *Hull* but the night before, with foure troopes of horſe, and 200 foot or thereabouts, which they called the *Gray-coats*. But the *Commiſſioners* appointed for the Seſſions, having a ſtrength of 9 troopes of horſe and 500 foote, under the command of Collonel *Cavendiſh*, made towards them upon their very firſt approach, and followed them five miles to an heath neere *Ancaſter*, and charged ſo furiouſly upon their foote, though placed with great advantage amongſt the furres, that they were quickly routed, and throwing downe their Armes, yeilded themſelves unto the mercy of the Victors; and having made way over and thorow their foote, did after with like furie fall upon their horſe, who not able to indure the charge fled in great diſorder, and were purſued almoſt to the walls of *Lincoln*; in which purſuite many were killed and taken Priſoners, and the whole body of them totally routed. The number of the foote who were taken Priſoners was about 300 (one hundred of the which was of *Hothams Grayecoates*) amongſt whom the men of principall note were two *Captains*, & five or ſix *Lieutenants*, and *Enſignes*. There were alſo taken Priſoners five *Cornets* of horſe, & one *Cornet* of Dragoons; the reſt (and amongſt them the generall himſelfe, young *Hothams* Excellency) ſaving themſelves for a new overthrow by a ſpeedy flight. It is ſaid alſo that beſides the routing of

the

the forces, and the taking of ſo many Priſoners, His Majeſties commanders had got 140 muskets and 60 caſe of Piſtols, with much other Armes, which in their flight the *Troopers* and *Dragooners* had left behind them. And here it is to be obſerved, that in a *London-Pamphlet* which came out ſince *Chriſtmaſſe*, report was made of a great battell fought in this very place, (when none ſuch was fought) and that this Collonel *Cavendiſh* who was now victorious, had beene ſlaine therein, with divers other Gentlemen of name and note, when neither he nor they had then took up Armes for the defence and ſervice of His ſacred Majeſty. The author of which pamphlet if he pretended (as ſome of them doe) to the ſpirit of Propheſie, miſtooke the time; though he gueſſed rightly at the place, and failed in pointing out the *Victors*, though he found a *battell*: but if he intended to write an hiſtory, he is now better furniſhed then before.

By Letters this day intercepted from the two *Hothams* to Maſter *Pym*, and other of their friends in the Houſe of Commons, dated *April* 7. it was advertiſed amongſt other things, that *If money were not ſent downe ſpeedily, the affaires of the two Houſes in that Country would ſuffer irrecoverably, and be beyond their power to helpe it: that whereas there were three good Livings within ten miles of* Hull, *the leaſt of which was worth* 200l per annum, *belonging to as many malignant Prieſts, one of them might be ſequeſtred for Maſter* Charles Hotham, *ſonne of old Sir* John; *a ſecond to his Cozen* Saltmarſh, *and a third to Maſter* Nye: *That they had loſt all by truſting too much unto the* Scots, *who would ſtill be* Scots: *That the Earle of* Newcaſtles *Army was very numerous, and had many good Commanders in it, and that the Souldiers too would be very good, if they were ſuffered to have time to exerciſe them: That the Lord* Fairefax *by quitting* Selby, Cawood, *and other places on the River, had put himſelfe out of all poſſibility of being ſupplied with Forces, Armes, or Ammunition, by the way of* Hull: *That by dividing their Forces into ſo many parcels, the Lord* Fairefax *being in the Weſt, the* Hothams *in the Eaſt, and ſome few at* Lincolne, *they could neither doe the publick good, nor themſelves.* And finally, *that when the Towne and Caſtle of* Scarborough *was regained by the Earle of* Newcaſtles *Forces from Captaine* Buſhell, *there were alſo taken two Catches with ten Peeces of Ordinance, and* 80 *men in them, which had beene ſent from* Hull *by* Hotham, *to make good the place: That they could wiſh the Treaty were at an end, that they might fall to it in good earneſt: That*

*that unluckie Commiſſion granted by the Parliament, together with Maſter* Stockdale *and his complices, have given that diſcontent to the Country, that all men of courage have left them but their owne Clan.* And laſtly, young *Hotham* ſayes in his Letter, that *he heares the Lords would have the Commons to diſavow the Captains for ſhooting at* BIRLINGTON, (that is, ſhooting at the Queene when She landed there.) *I pray you* (ſayes *Hotham*) *tell all my friends my opinion, that if you diſavow the Captaines for doing this, you will diſcourage all men of honour or worth to ſerve you*; with many other the like paſſages in the ſaid Letters, which are ſince printed.

MUNDAY *April* 17.

It was advertiſed from *London*, that upon Friday night (for *night-worke* now is moſt in faſhion) the *Committee* for the *Exciſe* ſate with the *Major*, *Aldermen*, and *Common counſell*, where Maſter *Pym* made a long Oration, telling them of the preſſing neceſſities which the State was in; and that the *Treaty* being broken off, (which by his leave he knew no otherwiſe then that he was reſolved not to have it hold, the buſineſſe of the laſt day being not yet come to him) there could no way be found ſo equall, as an *Exciſe* to be impoſed on forreine commodities to ſupport the Warre; in which becauſe the *Houſe* was loath to determine any thing without their advice or approbation, he was commanded by the *Houſe* to commend it to them. The ſpeech being ended, and that without thoſe *Hums* and *Plaudites*, with which they uſually requite his eloquence, the *Committee* did withdraw aſide, leaving the Aldermen and Common-counſell to conſider of it. Who though they did at firſt reſolve not to have any thing to doe in ſo odious and unacceptable a piece of buſineſſe: yet after the *Committee* had beene once or twice admitted to enforce the ſame, partly on their perſwaſions, and partly at the earneſt inſtance of their *Maior*, who was eager in it, they prevailed ſo farre, that a *Committee* ſhould be choſen of ſix Aldermen, and foureteene of the Common-counſell, to joyne with the *Committee* from the Houſe at *Haberdaſhers Hall*, to conſult thereof. How it hath ſince ſucceeded we ſhall know hereafter. In the meane time we may obſerve what pity and improvidence it was to *Vote* out the *Projectors* from the Houſe of *Commons* in the beginning of this *Seſſion*, of whom they finde at laſt ſuch an excellent uſe

uſe, if not ſuch ſenſible neceſſity in a *Common-wealth*.

It was alſo ſignified from thence, that on receiving of the Kings laſt Meſſage (the heads whereof you had in the former weeke) there was a conference betwixt the *Lords* and *Commons* to conſider of it: in which it was declared by ſome *leading* Members, that His Majeſties Anſwer being ſo cleare, and penned ſo ſmoothly, was like to take much amongſt the people, as ſhewing evidently that the King did more incline to peace then they did; and therefore that it did concerne them *to carry things handſomely*, that is, with as much art and cunning as they could, to deceive the people. As alſo, that upon debate in the *Lower Houſe*, whether they ſhould ſend for their owne Members of the *Committee* to come from *Oxford*, (the Lords refuſing ſo to doe) when thoſe of the *Malignant* party perceived their number to be leſſe then they hoped it was, and that the *Vote* was like to be ruled againſt them, before they came unto the *Pole*, they cried *Adjourne*; and that the *Speaker* knowing whom he was to pleaſe, did *adjourne* accordingly: By meanes of which deceitfull trick, they carried it the next day in a thinner Houſe, as before was noted. And it was alſo certified, that Sir *Fredericke Cornwallis* was committed, and it was thought that Maſter *Herne* (whom His Majeſtie had ſent with a Meſſage to them) would be ſerved ſo too: on a pretence of comming on thoſe *Errands*, without the approbation of their *Committee*, but really upon ſome hopes they had, that this diſcourteous uſage of His Majeſties Meſſengers, would cauſe His Majeſtie to make a ſtay of their *Committee*, that ſo the breach intended and reſolved upon, might be laid on him.

This day Sir *John Digby*, brother to Sir *Kenelme Digby*, who was taken Priſoner at *Edge-hill*, having made an eſcape out of the *Fleete* (where he had long beene kept Priſoner) by a ladder of ropes, came ſafely, but diſguiſed to the Court at *Oxford*, and the ſame day many of the *Red coates* (which is the name of the beſt *Regiments* of all the *Rebels*) tendered their ſerviee to His Majeſtie, and by His Majeſtie were not onely pardoned for their former fault, but liſted and diſpoſed of into ſeverall Companies.

Concerning *Reading*, it was certified and confirmed this day, that the Earle of *Eſſex* having ſate downe before it on Saturday laſt, made an attempt upon the ſame, but was courageouſly beat off with the loſſe of 100 of his men: and that upon a ſecond onſet, Sir *Arthur Aſton*

was content to let them enter upon one of his out-workes, which was no ſooner done by the Lord *Roberts* his Regiment, (on whom that honour was beſtowed) but preſently they fell upon them from the Towne, being yet unſetled and diſordered, repulſed them with the loſſe of 160 of their men which they left behinde them, beſides many others which they loſt before they could recover their Trenches, and get out of Gun-ſhot. By which ſad welcome, thoſe which were ready to goe on to purſue the enterprize, were taught better manners, and learn't to keepe themſelves at a further diſtance. And it was ſaid, that in their haſtie going off, they left ſome of their *Ordinance* behinde them. This day alſo His Majeſtie ſent to *Reading* a ſupply of 700 Musketteirs, with ſix Cart-loads of *Powder*, *Match*, and other kindes of *Ammunition*, well guarded by a Troop of Horſe to *Dorcheſter*, and from thence convoyed by a conſiderable ſtrength of Horſe to the water ſide, juſt againſt the Towne; to which they came about the dawning of the next day, and were all ſafely brought into the Towne in Boates and Barges which were provided for that purpoſe: the *Rebels* being ſo neare as to ſee it done, but too farre off to hinder what they were in doing.

TUESDAY. *April* 18.

There had been a report the day before, that the *Rebels* had burnt *Sherbourne*, a chief Town in *Dorſetſhire*; but it appeared by Letters dated upon Sunday, that though they had attempted to fire the ſame, yet by the induſtrie of the people, and Gods mercy towards them, their malicious purpoſe was prevented. It appeared alſo by thoſe letters, that the *Rebels* being thus diſappointed, had cauſed a Letter to be written to the inhabitants of *Sherbourne*, ſubſcribed by the hands of *Alex. Popham*, *Will. Long*, and others of the Cheifetaines of them, declaring in the ſame, that howſoever the *treacherie* and *inhumanity* of the people towards them, was ſuch (in an attempt upon them the night before) that they deſerved to have beene burnt in their houſes: yet to expreſſe to all the world the peaceablenſſe of their intentions, they had not only given them leave to preſerve the towne, being fired full ſore againſt their wils, but had withdrawne their forces from it, that they might the better attend that buſineſſe: yet with this reſolution, (like it as they would) that if they either beat up any drum, or raiſed any forces to defend

ſend themſelves, they would then fall againe upon it, and burne it to the very ground. To which it was couragiouſly replied by the inhabitants, that as they were not guilty of the *treachery* & *inhumanity* imputed to them, but on the contrary being in peace and quiet in their owne houſes, without ſo much as a watch to give notice to them of the approach of any Enemy, were ſuddainly and unexpectedly aſſaulted by them, and the towne fired about their eares: ſo notwithſtanding all their threats, they were reſolved to ſtand on their owne defence; having no reaſon to expoſe themſelves to their diſcretion, of whom ſo little mercy was to be expected. Out of which letters I obſerve, that it is counted *treacherie* to reſiſt a *Rebel*, and *inhumanity* not to make him maſter of our goods and houſes: and that in all the courſe of this *Rebellion*, they that commit the wrong, cry out firſt for remedy.

It was advertiſed from *London*, that on laſt Saturday, the Earle of *Warwicke* had ſent a meſſage to the Houſes, deſiring an addition of ſix Ships to make up his Fleete, upon intelligence of great preparations made in *Dunkerke*; (a ſtale device for raiſing money) and that the Lords deſired, and had a conference with the Houſe of Commons, for giving ſatisfaction to the *French King*, who by his *Agent* had expoſtulated whith them about the *Capuchines*; and that although thoſe of the *Lower Houſe* had promiſed to take the buſineſſe into conſideration, yet they gave *Order* in the meane time to ſend them going, and queſtioned the Commiſſion of the *French Kings Agent*, the better to gaine time to effect their buſineſſe, and to excuſe it being done. As alſo, that upon the ſtopping of the Lady *Byron* in her journey towards *Oxford*, by Order from the *Lower Houſe*, notwithſtanding that ſhe had a Paſſe from the Houſe of *Peeres*; there grew a difference and diſpute betwixt the Houſes: the *Commons* urging very hotly, that the *Lords* could not grant a Paſſe without their conſent, (which thinke you of the two will be the *upper Houſe* if this world goe on?) and therefore that in ſtopping the ſaid Ladies paſſage, they had done no more then they had power to doe, and meant to juſtifie. And it was certified withall, that the ſame day a motion had beene made in the Houſe of *Commons*, for *plundering* S. *Georges* Chappell in *Windſor*, in regard there was much maſſie *plate*, which belonged to the *Order* of the *Garter*, and for *plundering* all the *Prebendi* houſes; and that Captaine *Vere* might have the ſpoyle of both, wherewith to ſatisfie him for his *arrieres*: and that although the Captaine ſhewed his willingneſſe to be

active

active in it, and give a juſt accompt if they pleaſed to aske it, yet it was laid by for the preſent without paſſing further.

WEDNESDAY. *April* 19.

This day came out a *Proclamation* ſigned the day before, conteining His Majeſties gracious pardon to the *Rebels* now in Armes againſt him, under the command of the Earle of *Eſſex*. In which His Majeſtie taking notice, how the ſaid Earle and others, by and under his authority, the better to ſeduce His Majeſties weake Subjects, to beare Armes againſt him; had given it out, that they did nothing in the courſe of this odious warre, but by his Majeſties authority, and for his ſpeciall ſervice, *Declareth* the ſaid Earle of *Eſſex*, and all that have raiſed Souldiers by his *Commiſſions*, to be guilty of *high Treaſon* againſt His Majeſtie, and that this Rebellion is raiſed for no other cauſe, but to take away His Majeſties *life*, deſtroy *Religion*, ſuppreſſe the *Laws*, & with the *Laws*, the *Liberty* and *Property* of the *Engliſh* Subject; and therefore doth Command all His loving Subjects to apprehend the ſaid Earle, and all ſuch as have either levied, or do now command any Souldiers in any parts of this Kingdome, under his *Commiſſions*, as Perſons guilty of high Treaſon: His Majeſtie Declaring further, that whereas the ſaid Earle of *Eſſex* and his *Accomplices*, had layed ſeige to, and intended to aſſault His towne of *Reading*, yet he was pleaſed out of his Princely grace and Clemencie, to grant his free and generall pardon to all Captaines and inferiour Officers, (not formerly excepted by him) and alſo to all common Souldiers now in Armes againſt him, conditioned they disband within 6 dayes after the publiſhing of this his Majeſties *Proclamation*, and in the meane time do commit no hoſtile Act; and further, that ſuch *Officers* and common Souldiers as ſhould returne to their obedience, and be willing to ſerve him, ſhould be entertained in his Army, or otherwiſe ſuch officers, to have his pardon and free paſſe, taking their oathes never to ſerve againſt his Majeſtie, the common Souldiers taking the like *oathes* to have five ſhillings and a *paſſe* to carry them unto their dwellings: concluding that if theſe gracious offers did not take effect, they were to looke for ſuch extremity of puniſhment, as the greatneſſe of the Treaſon did deſerve.

A Paper bearing date this day, and ſigned by the hand of his Sacred Majeſtie, was poſted on the Court gate, and in other places of this Citie,

tie, for bringing in of Armes and Ammunition unto his magazine at *Oxford*, In which his Majeſtie premiſing how litle conformity he had found to ſome of his Majeſties commands in the ſame buſineſſe, doth ſtreightly will and command all manner of Perſons both of the Univerſitie and City, to bring in all their muskets, pikes, and other Armes to his publick magazine; and that the *Vice-Chancellour* of the Univerſity, and the *Maior* of the Citie, give notice to all Perſons, of this his Majeſties command, within their ſeverall *Iuriſdictions* reſpectively, to the end that no man might have or pretend excuſe; and that what Perſon ſoever, after ſuch notice given as before is ſaid, ſhould not deliver up his Armes on the ſaid command, on the diſcovery of the ſame, he ſhould be ſpeedily and ſeverely proceeded againſt, in the *Councell* of *Warre*.

There came this day ſome more particular information of the fight at *Ripley-feild* neare *Tewkſbury*, mention whereof was made on Friday, *April* 14. in the laſt weeke of this *Mercurius*, *viz.* that one of *Wallers* troopes of horſe, was by themſelves confeſſed to be cut off, by the Prince *Maurice* his forces; and that another which was thought to have ſaved themſelves by running away, was not yet returned unto their fellowes; his foot being ſo extreamly *routed*, that it was thought impoſſible they ſhould be *rallied*; ſo that in the two late fights betwixt Prince *Maurice* and him it is conceived he hath loſt above 500. of his men: As alſo that Sir *William Waller* himſelfe being by accident throwne of his horſe, in the heate and furie of the battaile, was troden under foot and ſo ſorely bruiſed, that it was thought hee could not eaſily recover; inſomuch that it was affirmed in *London*, as is advertiſed by ſome letters thence, that he was killed, and all his men ſlaine, except thoſe that fled: and it was ſignified withall, that ſince that fight, Prince *Maurice* was marched towards *Eveſham*, to comfort and refreſh his wearied troopes, after ſo long travell; and that on his removeall thither, *Waller* was ſafely got to *Gloceſter*, where he ſtill abideth. Newes alſo came this day, that His Majeſties Garriſon at *Cirencester*, together with all their *Ordnance*, Armes, and Ammunition, were removed to *Abbington*; and all the workes thereof ſlighted and levelled to the ground: the time now comming on, for his Majeſties going into the feild, and the *Rebels* having made it evident by the ſeige of *Reading*, that they have laid aſide all the thoughts of Peace.

THURSDAY. *April* 20.

It was advertiſed from *London*, that upon Munday laſt *April* 17. the Treaſurers for the money raiſed within that Citie, being to give up their accompts, made ſo even a reckoning, that there differed but one hundred thouſand pounds betwixt their receipts and the diſburſements; and yet that no body was ſo bold as to aske what became of all the reſidue: that 48 of their Souldiers comming from their Colours, went to the Houſe of *Commons* to demand their pay, and that the *Houſe* payed them that night with *Bridewell*; which much incenſeth the other Souldiers, and abates their zeale unto the cauſe: that they do ſtill continue jealous of Sir *John Hotham*, notwithſtanding his inſinuating and officious Letters; inſomuch, that though they have 5000 ready to ſend him (according to his frequent importunities) yet they dare not venture it. That a Letter from Sir *William Waller* (wherein he makes great mention of his victories, but none of his loſſes) was by the Houſe ordered to be put in print, but with ſuch alteration and omiſſions, as Sir *Thomas Barrington* ſhould thinke moſt expedient to advance the cauſe: That upon Tueſday *April* 18. the *Committee* for the Houſe of *Commons* which came from *Oxford*, made a relation to the *Houſe* of His Majeſties Anſwer, which was much commended and extolled by all moderate men, and thought to be both full and ſatisfactorie; but that upon the other ſide it was ſo farre from pleaſing the ingaged *malignant* party, that Maſter *Martyn* ſaid expreſſely, that it was rather to be *ſcorned*, then *anſwered*: and finally, that at a conference the ſame day betwixt the *Houſes*, for giving ſome Anſwer to His Majeſties Meſſages, in the *Painted-Chamber*; the Earle of *Northumberland* ſtanding by the fire, asked Maſter *Martyn* (whom he found there) why he brake open certaine Letters which were ſent to him to *Oxford*, (for ſuch a ſawcy tricke had been put upon him;) and finding little reaſon for it in his *Reply*, gave him a *Baſtinado* with his Cane, and a blow with his fiſt; whereupon *Martyn* getting neare him, caught him by the coller of his doublet, or, as ſome ſay, by his *George*, which occaſioned diverſe of the ſtanders by to draw their ſwords, amongſt whom the Earle of *Pembroke* is ſaid to be one, and Maſter *Pym* another. And it was certified withall, that the quarrell is ſo much reſented, that the *Commons* have *voted* it to be a breach of their *Privi-*

*ledges*,

*ledges*, and the *Lords* of *theirs*; and that a conference was had about it on the morrow after, which though it did procure a Truce for the preſent time, yet it is farre enough from making a Reconcilement; the matter being ſo indignely taken by the Houſe of *Commons*, that ſome have parallelled this breach of Priviledge, with that ſo frequently impoſed upon His Majeſtie of the 4th of *January*.

This day came to Towne in print, a paper ſigned by *Iſaac Pennington*, containing a direction to the *Miniſters* in and about the Citie of *London*, both what they were to *pray* for, and what to *preach*; the forme as followeth. *You are required to commend to God in your prayers, the Lord Generall, the whole Army imployed in the Parliaments ſervice, and the deſigne undertaken by them: As alſo in your Sermons effectually to ſtirre up your people to appeare in perſon, and to joyne with the Army; to ſtand up for our Religion and Liberties, as is deſired and expected by the ſaid Army, and the* Committee *for the* Militia *in this Citie.* And it is certified withall by ſome Letters thence, that all that doe refuſe to conforme themſelves to theſe *directions*, or *commands*, (call them what you will) are forthwith committed unto priſon; as amongſt others the Parſon of S. *Laurence Poultney*, (a Church neare *Guildhall*) for that reaſon onely. It ſeemes there is no uſe of *Biſhops*, when a Lord *Maior* (though an intruder on that office) takes on him to preſcribe the *Clergy* both what they are to *preach* and *pray* for: and wonder 'tis, that as the Houſe of *Commons* hath appointed him to be their *Generall Lieutenant* in all matters *temporall*, within the compaſſe of the Citie, and the parts adjoyning; they have not made him all this while their *Vicar-generall*, for that *ſpirituall juriſdiction* which they have taken to themſelves over all the Kingdome.

It was this day advertiſed from *London* alſo, that Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, who had accompanied Sir *William Waller* in his late journey into *Glouceſterſhire* with a Troope of Horſe, came into Towne on Tueſday night, with no more then 20 of his Horſe, his Troope conſiſting at the firſt of 70: which made ſome of their owne ſuſpect, that all things did not goe ſo proſperouſly with Sir *William Waller*, as his Letters intimated, when as the Troope of ſuch an eminent perſon as Sir *Arthur Haſelrig* (one knowne ſufficiently to be no very ventrous fighter) was ſo ſhrewdly leſſened.

FRIDAY: *April* 21.

This day came Letters from Sir *Arthur Aſton* from *Reading* wherein he ſayes that he got a blow on his head by the fall of a tyle from the top of an houſe, but not dangerous neither diſabling him from performance of the preſent ſervice.

It was alſo certified thence that the Rebels in their ſeverall approaches and aſſaults upon the Town had loſt 1000 of their men (by their own confeſſion) ſince the firſt begining of the ſeidge beſides 500 at the leaſt which were runn away; Sir *Edward Peyton* (who held *Warwicke* Caſtle againſt the King) and *Dalbier* a German Engineere being both ſlaine: which as it was the morning newes, ſo was it much increaſed at night by a report of a farre greater loſſe, which they ſuſtained this very day, giving the Towne a generall aſſault on all parts at once, and being as generally repulſed and beaten, to their extreme loſſe, and with very little loſſe of His Majeſties ſoldiers, of which there have not been above 20 killed ſince the ſiege began. And thus much for a proofe of their ill ſucceſſe, is advertiſed from *London*, that whereas it had beene reſolved to ſet forth a Declaration of their proceedings in the late Treaty with His Majeſty, and ſo to Order and contrive the ſame, as to lay the breach upon the King; the publiſhing of the ſame is now ſuſpended, by reaſon that they have not had ſo good ſucceſſe at *Reading*, as they did preſume on, and they begin to thinke upon an Anſwer to His Majeſties Meſſages, and ſo to keepe the Treaty ſtill in agitation.

The ſame day alſo towards evening there came to *Oxford* to the number of 95 Carts loaded with powder, ball, ſhot, and other Ammunition; as alſo with great quantity of lead, and ſulphur, and other materials fit to ſerve thoſe purpoſes, with ſome pieces of *Ordinance*, and other neceſſaries, ſome of which had beene left by His Majeſtie at *Worceſter*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, and other places of thoſe parts, before His Marching towards *Edge-hill*; the reſt being gathered together and provided for him by His Majeſties good ſervants and loving Subjects of thoſe loyall and well affected Counties.

From *London* it was certified this day alſo, that upon Wedneſday laſt there came a Petition to the two Houſes from *Nottingham* declaring very pitifully their preſent weakneſſe, & deſiring a ſupply both of men

men and money: that young *Hotham* is much blamed for his fooliſh journey into *Lincolneſhire* (eſpecially his loſſes there conſidered,) and at ſuch a time when he ſhould rather have aſſiſted the Lord *Fairfax* who hath almoſt all his Horſe, and is now beſeiged in *Leedes* by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*; his Forces being not above 4000 men, and the Earles more then treble that number: that the Lord *Grey* had written to the Houſes for foure pieces of *Ordinance*, 1000 *Muſkets*, and a proportionable quantity of *Ammunition*, to fortifie *Leiceſter* for an occaſionall retreat; but that upon debate thereof in the *Cloſe Committee*, it was reſolved that they had none to ſpare, or if they had, they could not ſafely ſend it thither: That in the *Weſt*, the *Commiſſioners* for the Treaty have prolonged the time for ſixe daies more, and gone downe to *Cornwall*, the *Corniſh* drawing their forces towards *Barnſtable*, and the North of *Devon*; and that the *Committee* from the Lower Houſe did upon Wedneſday ſevennight at *Quarter Seſſions* held at *Exeter*, endeavour what they could to diſturbe the ſame, cauſing a *Declaration* to be publiſhed againſt the *Corniſh*, ſubſcribed by the Earle of *Stamford*, *Northcote*, *Martyn*, *Chudeleigh*, *Bramfield*, and others, in which they do accuſe the *Corniſh* of invading that County, plundering, and impoveriſhing it by their Aſſeſſements, that under the pretence of a Treaty, they did intend to paſſe through the County, contrary to their former *Aſſociation*, and under a pretence of maintaining the Religion and Laws they had endeavoured to deprive them of all painfull Miniſters, and to deſtroy all *Parliaments* by ſubverting this; and therefore did declare their owne reſolution, deſiring all good people to joyne with them in it, for the defence of *Law*, *Religion*, and the preſent *Parliament*.

It was advertiſed from thence alſo, that the Earle of *Peterborough* (of whoſe ſonn's comming to the King you were told laſt weeke) came to the Towne on Saturday night in great diſcontent; that Colonell *Hurrey* hath a *Paſſe* for himſelfe and his familie to goe into *Scotland*, being he could not be intreated to continue longer in the Action; that three Ships are diſpatched to take in *Guernzey*, and fetch Sir *Peter Osborne* the Governour thence; who holds the Caſtle for the King, and hath ſent his wife and children into *France* for ſhelter; That a Miniſter in the Towne of *Berwicke* praying for the good ſucceſſe of the *Parliament* Army, was for the ſame, and other matters of his

Sermon tending to that purpoſe, accuſed of Treaſon and put in cuſtody: the good people there conceiving, (as all wiſe Chriſtians do) that it was to pray for the continuance of a Rebellion. But notice hereof being given unto the Houſe of *Commons* by the *Major* and Aldermen, it was ordered that the Miniſter ſhould be releaſed, and the good Major thanked for ſo great a diligence, and finally that it was moved very lately by ſome *active* members; that the Houſe might ſit onely three daies in the weeke, and the *Committee* the other three; this being (as it is conceived) but a prologue onely to a further and more cloſe deſigne, which is to adjourne both Houſes for a certaine time, and mannage all by a *Committee*: which if it take effect, as perhaps it may (for ſtranger things then that have beene carried there) the *Ariſtocracie* ſo much longed for by their friends and followers, will be directly changed into an *Oligarchie*, the worſt of tyrannies.

SATURDAY. *April* 22.

It was advertiſed from *Cambridge* that the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* and Maſter *Cromwell* did the laſt weeke deale very earneſtly with the *heads* of Colledges, to lend 6000l for the publicke uſe; and that the motion not being hearkned to, they kept them all in cuſtody till midnight, except Doctor *Brownrigg* (the Biſhop of *Exeter*) and Doctor *Love*: that the ſaid *heades* being adviſed to aſſemble the next day about it, and refuſing ſo to doe, were called to the Lord *Greys* lodging; and being aked the reaſon of their refuſall, made anſwer by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, whom they had choſen for their *Speaker*, that they had before conſulted the whole *Univerſitie*, who had reſolved that they could not complie with their deſires in that particular, as being directly againſt their conſciences: that *Cromwell* when he found them ſticke to this reſolution, ſaid to a friend of his who was then in the place, they would have beene content with 1000l or leſſe for the preſent turne; not that ſo little money could have done them good, but that the people might have thought that one of the two *Univerſities* had beene on their ſide.

And it was alſo certified, that when they failed of getting money by that meanes in a faire and voluntarie way, they tooke by violence from the *Burſars* of divers Colledges, ſuch monies as already were brought in unto them; and from the Tenants of ſuch Colledges which dwelt neere at hand, ſuch monies as they had in readineſſe to pay their rents:

and

and well we know what they were counted in the former times (when Law and Juſtice were in faſhion) who when a man refuſed to deliver his purſe, uſed to take it from him.

This day came newes by an *Expreſſe*, that Prince *Rupert* had taken the *Cloſe* at *Lichfield*: the particulars theſe: On Thurſday laſt he ſprung his mine, and made a reaſonable *breach*, and therewith all gave order, that whilſt ſome of his ſouldiers did aſſault the *Breach*, others ſhould at the ſame time, in another place, attempt the ſcaling of the walls: But the *Scalado* failing, and the ſervice at the *Breach* being very hot, his Highneſſe alſo having beene much preſſed by ſeverall letters to returne with ſpeed unto the Court, he was content to give the defendants ſuch conditions, as had not otherwiſe been granted; *viz.* that Lieutenant Collonell *Raſſell* who commanded in chiefe within the *cloſe*, on the ſurrendrie of the ſame by ten of the Clocke the morrow after April 21. ſhould depart thence with 80 horſe, with men upon them, and armes belonging to the horſemen, as alſo with 80 muskets, and *Colours* flying, all other perſons being permitted to goe where they pleaſed; that for their ſafe conveyance thence, the Prince ſhould give them a *free paſſe*, and furniſh them with eleven Carts to carry away ſuch goods as did belong to any of the Officers and ſouldiers, with themſelves to the City of *Coventry*, and that all Priſoners taken on each ſide within the County of *Stafford*, ſince the Lord *Brooke* came into the Countrie, ſhould be immediately releaſed. According unto which agreement the *Cloſe* was yeilded up on Friday, April 21. together with the *Ordinance* and *Ammunition*, all ſorts of *Armes* except the horſemens Armes and muſkets before mentioned, and all ſuch treaſure which had beene formerly conveyed in thither, and did not properly and of right belong to the Souldiers there: all which was to be left by the ſaid Agreement to the diſpoſing of the Victor.

The Reader is to be advertiſed that whereas the *Rebels* had procured the two greateſt peeces of Ordinance in the Tower of *London* which they called *roaring Megs*, to be brought to *Reading*, for the eaſier battering of the Towne; one of them was diſcharged ſo often, that it had no leiſure to coole, and ſo broke in peices killing the *Canoneer*, beſides divers others. As alſo that His Majeſties garriſon at *Malmesbury* was to be removed this day, together with the Ordinance, Armes and Ammunition which belonged unto it for His Majeſties preſent and more neceſſary ſervice; as that of *Cyrenceſter* had beene ſome three daies before.

And

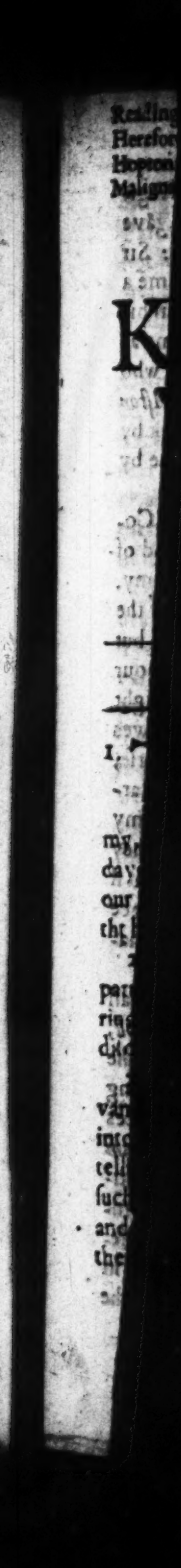
On Saturday *April* 22. by His Majesties especiall Command, Prince *Maurice* with all his Forces came back from *Glocester shire*. On the 24 *April* Prince *Rupert* is returned with 3000 of Horse and Dragoones, and all the foot with 8 pieces of Canon, are marching after.

---

*FINIS.*

---

---



Reading yeelded is.
Hereford taken is.
Hopton beaten is.
Malignants greive.



19

Numb. 17.

# THE KINGDOMES VVeekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 25. of *April*, to *Tuesday* the 2. of *May*. 1643.

1. THough other imployments necessarily diverted me from giving an account of the last weekes Intelligence (as I partly intimated in my last I doubted it would) yet the successe hath been such in our Army, and a seasonable opportunity offering it selfe (in regard of three or foure dayes respite (after foureteen dayes lying in the Fields) allowed to refresh our Souldiers at *Reading*) I have made a step to *London* to informe my selfe the best I can, and to communicate the truest Intelligence I can get.

2. And in the first place to begin with that, of which I have (for the most part) been an eye-witnesse, the proceedings of the Armies on both sides during the siege at *Reading*, of which I am in part prevented by the modest and discreet Relation of *Mercurius Bellicus*.

3. The first remarkable passage that fell out during that time, was a servant of *Lewis Dives*, one Mr. *Flowre*, who hazarded his life by swimming into the Towne, over Thames, to tell (by whose the Towne began) with Intelligence to the Governour Colonell *Afton* the Papist, that Prince *Rupert* at such an houre, would with a considerable strength be neere *Caversham* Bridge, and fight with the two Regiments there, whilst Colonell *Afton* might send up the water some Barges to receive in the Powder and Ammunition which was



brought

brought to supply that Garrison, and to facilitate the same, to advise him to sally out of the Towne to give an Alarum on the Reere of those two Regiments; Prince *Rupert* came accordingly, but the said two Regiments gave him such a welcome, that he endured but one charge, and so retreated: Sir *Lewis Dives* man returned next morning by six of the Clock, and swamme a great way up the water, which one of our Scouts discerning, crept on his hands and knees, and like a cunning Otter Dog, seised upon his game as soone as he proffered to Land, and brought him to my Lord Generall, who confessed the matter aforesaid, and also, that the Governour Colonell *Aston* was so ill with the wound and bruise he had received in the head and neck by the falling of Bricks from a Chimney upon him, which were shot downe by a Canon Bullet from our Army, that he was not able to speake.

4. That very night we sent a party of Horse under the Command of Colonell *Middleton*, and a Regiment of Dragoones under the Command of Colonell *Mills* to pursue Prince *Rupert*, and make discovery of the enemy, who in the night time marched towards *Dorchester*, where a great party of the enemy was quartered, and with intention only to give them an Alarum, but the Scouts that were abroad were tooke, their Centinels slaine, and our Forces entered the Towne, killed forty at least, of which there were eight Commanders slaine in one house, who discharged Pistols out of windowes against our men, yet without hurt; we tooke one hundred and forty Horse, some of fifty pounds price, and divers prisoners, some Officers, and Harbingers to the King, and plundered a little, and so retreated, for the enemy was quartered with a great strength within a mile of the Towne (where they had an Alarum to the purpose) and *Wallingford* was on our Reere, so that if one or other had come on, it had endangered our men to stay, yet have since repented they retreated so soone, for that they have since received Information the Kings great Standard was in the next house to that they pillaged.

5. After this onslaught the Cavaliers drew all their Forces (except a small Garrison in *Oxford*) towards *Wallingford*, quitting their Quarters at *Brill*, *Cirencester*, *Malmesbury*, *Abbington*, and other places, and drew neere the Siege before *Reading*, and the better to encourage the Souldiers, the King came in person, and Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* with all their Forces to fall on the Lord *Roberts*, and Colonell *Barklays* Regiments at *Caversham* Bridge, being their only hoped passage into the Towne, who so bravely entertained all the Forces of the Kings Horse and Foote (though but six Companies in a Regiment (the rest of those two Regiments being upon duty elsewhere) that they killed in a quarter of an houre above one hundred dead in the

the place, beate them up the hill towards the Lord *Cravens* house, where the King was, made three hundred of them throw down their Armes, Drums, Partisens, and Halberds, and enforced the whole Army to retreate, they had not so much as one Troope of Horse to assist them; besides these hundred and odde slaine in the place, whom they left in the Field, and whom our Souldiers pillaged (one of them finding thirty pounds and upwards in one of their pockets) they carryed away three Cart loads of men, most of them Officers, and as the Country men have testified since, above forty more dyed within a day or two after in Barnes, and other places, and that they saw sixty dressed by the Surgeons in one house, and about one hundred in another Towne; So Prince *Rupert* (having small cause to boast) returned to *Wallingford*, and that which is almost miraculous, we lost not above five men, and Colonell *Barklay* slightly wounded, a marke of Honour, and not of danger.

6. The thing observable in this action is the *Time* when this was done, even when the *Flag of Truce* was hung out of the Towne of *Redding*, and a Treaty embraced, and Hostages given on both sides, even then did the Cavaliers fall (as aforesaid) on our Forces, as if they abhorred all Treaty of peace to save blood, and delighted in violating that, for which they in the Towne had pledged their Honour and Faith; But (though this might justly incense our Lord Generall) the Treaty went on, the Articles on both sides were agreed on, and by such an houre they were to depart the Towne, which was on *Thursday*, *April* 27. instant, by two of the Clock, at which time they marched away, and we entred the Towne.

7. The Articles agreed on were as followeth;

Articles concluded and agreed upon by his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*, Generall of the forces raysed for the defence of the King and Kingdome of the one part, and the Governour, and Councell of Warre in the Towne of *Redding* of the other part, this five and twentieth day of *April*. 1643.

1. *FIrst, That the Governour, Commanders, and Souldiers, both of Horse and Foot, may march out of the Towne of Redding with flying Colours, Armes, foure Peeces of Ordnance, Ammunition proportionable to them, Bagge and Baggage, light Match; Bullet in mouth, Drummes beating, and Trumpet sounding.*

2. *That they may have free passage to the City of* Oxford, *without interrup-*

tion of any of the forces under the Command of his Excell. my Lord Earle of Essex. Provided that the said Governour, Commanders, and Souldiers in Reading, use no hostility untill they come to Oxford.

3. That what persons soever are accidentally come to the towne of Reading, and shut up by the Seige, may have like liberty to passe without interruption: Such persons only excepted as have runne away out of the Army under the Command of his Excellency.

4. That they may have fifty Carriages for Baggage, for sicke and hurt men, which they are to provide themselves and that they carry not out of the Towne of Reading any such goods and Commodities as have been taken from the Western Carriers, and brought into Reading.

5. That the Inhabitants of the Towne of Reading may not be prejudiced in their estates or persons, either by plundering, or imprisonment, and that they which will leave the Towne may have free leave and passage to goe to what place they will, with their goods, within the space of sixe Weeks after the surrender of the said Towne.

6. That the Garrison of Reading shall quit the said Towne by twelve of the clocke to morrow in the morning, that timely notice shall be given to His Excellency, when they begin to march, that a guard may be provided for their security, That at the time when the Garrison begins to march out of the Port towards Cawsom Bridge, there shall be a Port open at Newberry Hill for my Lord Generall to passe into the Towne.

Richard Fielding. | Anthony Thelwall.
John Belasyse. | Theophilus Gilby.
Richard Boll. | George Bend.
Edward Villiers.

8. But in their march out of Reading, some of our souldiers discovered a Waggon laden with Armes, which was contrary to the Treaty, (for no Armes were to passe, but what they marched withall) whereupon the souldiers brought backe the Wagon, wherein there were one hundred and forty Musquets, and since the Treaty was thus broken on their parts, they tooke the advantage, and pillaged another Wagon and now and then exchanged a Hat or a Sword with the Cavaleers, as they marched by, but the Earle of Essex himselfe with his life Guard did in person, beating and slashing the souldiers for offering to take the least thing from them, contrary to the Articles, yet they would sometimes offend, doe what he could to prevent it: And after our Souldiers entred the Towne, they plundred

foure

*foure houſes, notwithſtanding Proclamation was made upon paine of death not to plunder any. It is true they were Grand Malignants, and ſuch men that had given a liſt to the Governour of the Towne, of all thoſe men in that Towne, which would not divide the King and Parliament, which ſaid perſons during all the time the Garriſon was there, were enforced to pay double the ſummes that any other were taxed at weekely, and were called the men menioned in the Kings* black line *for His Maiſty in writing particularly, directed theſe men to be raiſed as aforeſaid.*

9. For the works in the Towne, the Governor ſhewed himſelfe a Skilfull man and expert Souldier, and indeed it is to be admired that a Towne ſo fortified ſhould be ſo quickly rendred up: the Trenches round about the Towne are ſo deepe and wide, the works ſo ſubſtantially made, and the Paliſadoes round about the works ſo firmely fixed, and all things framed in that order, that fifty thouſand men could not take the Towne by ſtorming, of it without the loſſe of five thouſand men at leaſt, if the ſouldiers then in the Towne (being three thouſand and five hundred foot compleatly armed, and five hundred horſe and but Dragoones meanly armed) had been provided for a longe Seige.

10. And yet when our forces entred the Towne, the Butchers ſtalls were full of meat, plenty of Beare and Wine in all Tavernes and Alehouſes, ſeaventy quarters of Oates in the Towne, and fifty quarters of Wheate in one place; Twenty Barrells of powder we had in a houſe, and eight in another, beſides other ſmall quantities were found, they left behind them (according to the Articles of Treat) Ten peeces of Ordnance, two of them great Iorn peeces, one of them being in the fort Royall, the other at the Invincible Fort at *Harriſons Barne*; the other eight peeces, ſix of them were braſſe Sacres, the other two, Drakes: The approaches made by my Lord Generalls Souldiers to the enemies works on both ſides of the Towne, were in diſtance as neare as the length of one of the walks under the old Exchange extends from one end to the other, inſomuch that the ſouldiers of both ſides ſpeaking to one another, the Cavaliers calling our men Parliament Dogs, our men calling them Prince *Ruperts* Roundheads, &c. which name they could not endure to heare.

11. There are divers doe wounder they ſhould deliver up the Towne being ſo well fortified, and alſo fitted to hold out a longer Seige; but it is generally conceived, it was by reaſon of the differences amongſt them who ſhould Command in Cheife (the Governor being through his hurt growne ſenceles) which with much adoe was Conferred on Colonell *Feilding*, but

with diſcontent to others: the horſe and foote likewiſe differed, Hay indeed was ſcarſe, and the horſe would be gone; the taking of this place, upon the Conditions it was yeilded up, was an exceeding happy advantage for the Parliament, as could be wiſhed; and they were much to blame in *London*, that ſo raſhly cenſured our yeilding to their propoſitions to ſurrender the Towne and to march away as they did, let them be tender of it hereafter, and come to *Reading* and ſee what is done, and they will be very thankfull for what they have, and account it a greater happines then to have ſtaied a moneths Seige, and diſcontented our men with lying in the Fields, and weaken them with continuall Alarums, and the popiſh Army to march up in the meane time to endevour (joyning with the forces at *Oxford*) to raiſe the Seige: But the Lord *Fairfax* as he hath hitherto, witnes the late Seige at *Leeds*, So I hope God will enable him to put a ſtop to the march of that Popiſh Army, at leaſt to keepe him from being able to come with any conſiderable ſtrength, and to leave an Army behind, ſufficent to encounter the Lord *Fairfax* forces, without which the *Yorkeſhire* Malignants will not let the Earl of *Newcaſtle* march; which is the maine cauſe that hath retarded the march of that Popiſh Army all this while.

12. I may not omit one thing for the honor of a Cavalier in the Kings Army, that when the Flage of Truce was ſett up, and the time not expired, and the Kings forces falling on our men, appearing in a great body of horſe and foote in the ſight of the Towne, divers of the Commanders reſolved to breake the Truce, and to ſallie out and joyne with the Kings forces, but Colonell *Feilding* tould them, if the King himſelfe ſhould come and knock at the Gates and Command him to doe it, he would not forfeit his honor and the faith he had pledged during the Truce: I may not bury in oblivion the Valiant Courage of one of the Cavalaie of my Lord Generalls who eagerly purſuing the Cavaliers forces from *Cavaſham*, was encountred by *Oneale* and another Great Souldier, fought with them both, ſhot *Oneale* in the thigh, diſmounted the other Gentleman, and wounded him, but more horſe of the Kings comming into their reſcue, he was forced to Retreate, this action had ſo honorable repute by the enemy, that Pr. *Rupert* ſent to his Excelleney to know the name of that Gentleman that had acquitted himſelf with ſo Valiant a Courage, but the modeſty of the Perſon is ſuch, that it ſeemes he deſires rather to be knowme by his actions then his name, for as yet it is not known who it was.

13. Another thing obſervable during the Siege, was that our Souldiers made twenty ſmall ſhot for one of theirs, and I may well ſay as many great,

their

their manner of discharging was reserved, still keeping one good m'rket man three houres on the duty, and as he tooke his aime, instantly another with a lighted Match gave fire when he gave the word, and when any of these made a shot, they hit, or came very neere the Marke, as some Citizens have dolefully witnessed that came out of curiosity to see the Workes, who left their Callings at home to approach so neere to a place where they had no Calling to come: We lost not above 40 men at most that were slain by the enemy during the Seige, by accident 16 at one time, and some few at another by Guupowder, the wounded and sicke we sent to *London*, the Cavaleers shot Bullets Chanckt and furled, which poysons where it placeth, unlesse the flesh be immediately cut out, I conclude, as to this businesse of *Redding*, it was a great providence of God to encline the hearts of the L. Generall and his Councell of War to accept of the Propositions offered by those in *Redding*, for otherwise it would have cost us more mens lives to take the Towne by storming, then I hope it will doe to rout the whole Army at *Oxford* if they dare stay till *Thursday* next, by which time my Lord Generall with his whole Army will be neere that City, leaving the Forces of *Barkeshire*, and parts neer *Redding*, with one of his owne Regiments to make good the Towne of *Redding*, if in case the enemy should wheele about.

14. As God hath blest us in the taking of *Redding* (since his Majestie rejected the just desires of the Parliament, honourable for himselfe and safe for the Kingdome) so he hath in a more miraculous manner shewed his hand in prospering our Forces in the West, where 108. horse routed about 5000. horse and foote, tooke about 800. Armes, eighteene Drummes, three Colours, one Connet, and divers other weapons, and severall Prisoners, its pitty to relate any part of the action without the whole, so remarkeable, which is to come forth at large in Print; onely this for the honour of him that commanded in Chiefe; Serjeant Major *Chudley*, who drew out his 108. Horse into seven Troopes, eighteene in a Troope in the Van, but thinner in the Reare, spreading a large ground, and being Evening, appeared of a far greater bulke then he was, and charged the Enemy with such courage and resolution as if he had beene so many compleate Troopes, which so daunted and amazed the Enemy, that breaking through their first Regiment, who casting downe their Armes hastily, fled; which strucke such a terrour to the rest, that they runne away also; yet Sir *Ralph Hopton* Rallied up a considerable strength, and plaid with his Ordnance against the foote (as he thought) whereas they were onely lighted Matches, which the foote, (refusing to assist the horse (they conceived the Service so desperate) had (by directions of

Sergeant

Sergeant Major *Chudley* left burning in the hedges and Furres in Ranks, as if ſo many Muſqueteers had been there really placed, which kept Sir *Ralph Hopton* for approaching neere that night, onely playing with his Cannon at a diſtance againſt theſe lighted Matches.

But before the morning ſuch a thunder, lightning, and ſtorme there was, that all the *Corniſh* Calvaleers being then in the open fields, were ſcattered, and not a man to be ſeene next day, which hath wrought ſuch effect in the hearts of the *Corniſh*, that hundreds are gone away, & left the ſervice: There was taken amongſt other things, a Letter of the Kings, in theſe words (found in ſilke) *C.R.* our Command is, that you uſe your beſt diligence to horſe all your foot, both Muſqueteers and Pikes, as Dragoons, that they march to Us with the more eaſe, ſpeed and ſafety, this the Rebels doe by ſweeping all the Commons where they come, and We authorize you to doe as much. the *Devonſhire* men in this ſervice, loſt not one man; at the ſitting downe of *Lanceſton*, two dayes before they loſt ſome few Common Souldiers, but kild Captain *Baſſet*, and divers other perſons of quality.

15. The great ſucceſſe which Sir *William Waller* hath likewiſe had againſt the Towne of *Hereford* (ſince the time the evill Counſellors about the King have prevailed to breake off the Treaty) is very remarkeable, an exact relation whereof is likewiſe to come out, yet this in briefe, after Sir *William Waller* had ſummoned the Towne by a Trumpet, and ſleightly answered by *Herbert Price* a Welchman, he commanded ſome pieces of Ordnance to be diſcharged againſt the Towne, which ſo affrighted them, that after ſome ſallies out, and beaten in againe, on Munday laſt they deſired a parley, hoſtages on both ſides were given, articles were concluded, that the Ladies ſhould be gently dealt withall, plundering to be prohibited the Towne, armes and ammunition to be delivered up to Sir *William Waller*, an Indy guard to be given to the Commanders and Common Souldiers, which was performed accordingly: the perſons of note that were taken, were the Lord *Scudamore*, Sir *Walter Croft*, Sir *William Cogenby*, Sir *Walter Pie*, Sir *Herbert Price*, Sir *Richard Cave*, and others of quality, about two thouſand armes at leaſt, for horſe and foote were taken: Sir *William Waller* now that he hath curbed the Welchmen thoſe parts, will haſten his march ſouthly, *Worceſter* where divers of the Gentry of that County have deſerted the King, expecting to meet the Cavaleers in their retreate from *Oxford*, where he may be more ſerviceable to the Kingdome, then to come to *Oxford*, beſides proviſion is making of great ſupplies to be ſent hence unto him, if Sir *William Waller* had been in ſo weake a condition as *Mercurius Rufticus* is pleaſed to relate, he had not been able to have undergone ſo brave and honourable an action.

16. I found a great report in *London* when I came, of a great fight that had been between the L. *Fairfax* and the Popiſh army, and that the L. *Fairfax* was taken priſoner, and carryed to *Pomfret* Caſtle, which the Malignants affirmed with great confidence, but on *May* day morning at ten of the Clock no certain newes of it was come, only this, That on *Thurſday* laſt the Earle of *Newcaſtle* with his whole army marched towards the L. *Fairfax* army at *Leeds*, and by all likelihood by this time the quarrell is much decided one way or another, of which you muſt have patience to heare the truth till the next.

R

B

20

# A Full RELATION

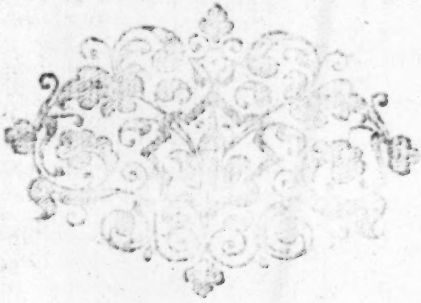
Of the great defeat given to the *Corniſh Cavalliers*,

By Sergeant Major Generall *Chudley*.

Confirmed by divers Letters from thoſe parts to ſeverall Merchants in London.



*LONDON*,
Printed for *Edward Blackmore*.
*May*. 3. 1643.



# *A full Relation of the great defeat given to the Corniſh Cavalliers.*

OUr Army conſiſting of 1500. Muſquetiers, 200. Pikes, 5. Troops of Horſe, under command of Sergeant Major General *Chudleigh*, advanced out of Devon. into Cornwall, over Pouliſon bridge, neere Lanceſtone, Sunday morning laſt, and there fought with the whole force of Cornwal all that day, till neere midnight, and was in danger to have been cut off, the enemy being ſo many, and having hemm'd them round to ſtop their retreat into Devon. which they had done, had not Col: *Merricks* Regiment of *Lond.* Gray coats, under command of Lieutenant Col. *Calmady*, which went out of Plimouth the Saterday after noone, and reſcued our Army, when the enemy had wel-nigh encompaſſed them round, the gray-coats falling on them bravely, ſo that our Army themſelves killed and hurt them many men, ſome ſay 150. ſo as they made the enemy retreat, and ſo our men came freely off, making an honourable retreat, not loſing any thing, onely having ſome eight or ten men killed at moſt.

By Munday morning all our Forces were ſafely arrived into Devonſhire againe, and what ever the mat-

ter was, I cannot learne, ſome difference there was, ſo as part of our Army diſperſt themſelves, the reſt being not above 600. Foot and 3. Troops of Horſe, the Tueſday night quartered at Ockhampton, and about nine of the clock at night unthought on, one of the Quartermaſters riding out to get quarter to ſome village neere the towne for their Troopers, met three ſcouts of the enemies, who fired their Carbines at him, whereon he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, diſcovered the enemies Armie, which we hear conſiſted of 4000. Foot and 400. horſe and Dragoons marching towards Ockhampton to cut off our Forces there, who little expected them, the enemie as it ſeems intending to fall upon them in the dead of the night. But now mark and obſerve the providence of God, moſt wonderfully and miraculouſly, in delivering our Forces from theſe cruel enemies.

The Sergeant major Generall underſtanding of the enemies neere approach by the Quartermaſters relation, calling a ſudden counſell, preſently commanded the Horſe being but 108. in all, (who were going to their quarters before this news came) to divide themſelves in ſquadrons, having ſpeedily marched firſt to the brow of a hill where the enemy was to paſſe, and in that order to remaine till the enemy came home upon them, and upon paine of death no man to ſhew himſelfe, till the enemy ſhould march full upon them, and when they came, on whoſe quarter ſoever they ſhould firſt light, thoſe ſquadrons firſt to charge, and to charge them through and through, and to ſhout, crying, Fall on, fall on, They run, they run. This being thus bravely and ſpeedily deſigned, was as reſolvedly and valiantly

antly put in execution, for it ſo fell out, that the enemy firſt approached to Captaine *Drakes* quarter, who having divided thoſe of his Troop, conſiſting but of 36. into two ſquadrons of 18. each commanded them to follow him, and not to give fire till they ſee him give fire, and ſo put ſpurs to horſe, and charged the enemies horſe and Dragoons, giving the ſhout, Fall on, fall on, piſtolled the firſt man he met, knockt out the brains of the next with his poll-axe, and ſo made way through for the reſt of his ſquadron, who as bravely followed him, and after him his Lieutenant with the other 18. crying, Fall on, fall on, They run, they run, and on the other parts, Captain *Gold*, Captain *Pym*, Sergeant Major *Chudleigh* himſelfe as bravely fell on the body of the foot, charging them through, making them throw down their Arms, and cry for quarter. This being done, all with 108. Troopers, the Foot remaining in the Town being but about 600. in all, who had command to make good the towne for retreat, where alſo their Ordnance and Ammunition was, after the firſt rout, againe about midnight our enemy faced about againe, when our Foot alſo came out upon 400. of them, and together with about 60. or 70. of the Horſe ſo bravely charged them, that they diſperſt them in a ſhameful manner, make them turne back, and againe to retreat for Cornwall. Our Horſe had ſo far purſued them, that they had almoſt got their two braſſe Ordnance, which they had in poſſeſſion, but the Foot were not come up to bring them away: So not being of number ſufficient, thought it not good to goe too far, but returned back to Ockhampton with honour, being ſo well im-

ployed in the rout, took onely some 20. prisoners, killed some 20. more, and not a man of ours lost. They have taken upon 1000. mens Arms, and 100. in 150. of their horses.

We are now gathering a considerable army together, and intend by Gods help to march into Cornwall. Our men are now all couragious and hearty, seeing the wonderfull mercy of God, who gives the victory to few as well as to many, and fights the battles of his servants, to whom be the glory and honour of his mercy and goodnesse ascribed for ever.

---

## *Barum the 28 of Aprill*, 1643.

*My constant frie d,*

YOur health wished, &c. I received your Letter by the Post, and doe thanke you for your intelligence, our forces being not above 1500. lay on Friday last 10. miles from Lancestone, but on saterday they advanced to Liston within 3. miles of Lancestone, and yet in Devon where they thought to have met with 3. or 4. regiments of trayners those being all Sea-men and Volunteeres, but there was no aid came thither as was promised by the Lieutenants: Sergeant Major *Chudleigh* commanding in chiefe. Of these 1500. on Sunday morning at 10. of the clock marched over Poulson-bridge into Cornewall, upon this ground hearing that there was not above 1000. men and that of Sir *Bevel Greenvils* Regiment, so that he thought to have set upon Lancestone, but before they came neere the Town the Cavaliers came out and lay halfe a mile off the Towne in hedges, and shot upon our men from 10. til 3. or 4. of the clock. but our men beate them

from

from hedge to hedge till they were come neere home to the Towne; and then about 5. or 6. of the clock there was 2. or 3. Regiments came in to the helpe of the Cavaliers, but we held two or three ſmall braſſe peeces which did great execution among them, but their number being ſo much increaſed they were like to have begirt our men round, and had ſent a great number to the bridge, but by the providence of God 500. of the E. of *Stamfords* men came in from Plymoth and cleered the bridge, and our men made a faire retreate about 9. of the clock at night on Sunday and marched to Southhampton, but I muſt tell you that our men killed above 20. for one, we loſt but 8. men, and they loſt above 200. and ſome ſay for certain 240. whereof M. *Baſſet* their high Sheriffe was one ſhot in two by our braſſe peeces, bleſſed be God for this mercie. Well, our men on Munday came to Southhampton 15. miles from Lanſon in the way to Exeter: The Cavaliers on Tueſday advanced from Lanſon into Devon, Sir *Ralph* came hut with 4000. almoſt ſtarved poore Corniſh and 500. horſe, our men by their Scouts ſent out, brought newes to Major *Chudleigh* that the Corniſh Armie was within 4. miles of the Towne, they ſent out 3. Troopes of Horſe, Major *Chudleigh*, Captaine *Gould* and Cap. *Drake*, which in all made but 108. horſe, who lay cloſe under a hill where the enemie was to come, who juſt in the edge of the evening came to the place, our horſe poſſeſſed, our men preſently charged the Van very furiouſly, got their word, and fell in among them pel mel: Cap: *Drake* ſlew 12. or 13. with his battel axe and ſword, and one of his Corporals the like number, he charged through and through the midſt of the Armie, and had the foote come up had gotten their guns, being 3. they had poſſeſſion of them but wanted foote to carry them away: It is thought the Cavaliers kild one another, ſeeing they ſaw them kill their fellows that had the worde, there was no difference but our men in the moonelight knew every one by his skarfe and colours, our men killed above 120. of them, tooke 6. or 700. Arms, buffe coats and ſcarlet coates ſtore, 12. drums, 3. Enſines. 11. priſoners, ſwans feathers and much other pillage, and beate them back to Lanceſtone where they ſhamefully arived wedneſ-

day

day the laſt day, but we muſt not aſcribe it to man but to God, that they had this great ſucceſſe, being above 45. to one man. One thing is remarkable, that as ſoon our horſe charged them being on a great downe, it grew darke and it thundered and lightned in a very terrible manner, and the thunderclap brake juſt over their heads and then raine extraordinary, and it was a very great winde and hard weather all that day and night, and they were amazed at our ſuddain charge, that they ran amain to ſave their lives, ſo let all our enimies periſh.

There was a Letter intercepted which came from the King, going to Sir *Ralph Hopton* 3. or 4. dayes ſince neere *Exon* wherein he wrote that he ſhould come away to his helpe ſpeedily, and it is thought that if he could have cut off that little force wee had in Southhampton then hee would have plundered the Countrey where he had gone, and ſo gon away to the King, but he is gone to his corner with weeping croſſe: Lord Major loſt his ſcarlet coate and Sir *Staying* his ſkaffe and many beaver hats found cut and hewed, it is thought is 500. hurt of them, hee loſt in the laſt fight 5. or 6. horſes but not one man, and 3. or 4. hurt, Gods name be glorified. Pray let us heare what newes, you I hope this weeke will produce great newes, God ſend it to be good, under God this war doth ly much on the E. of *Eſſex* his Army if well or ill, therefore it concernes London to afford him all the helpe you poſſible can, your true friend for Jeruſalems peace, I reſt,

*W. N.*

*Heare the Letter from the King was written upon white ſattin and found in a clokebag, wherein was many papers, and will diſcever all our Malignants of Devon.*

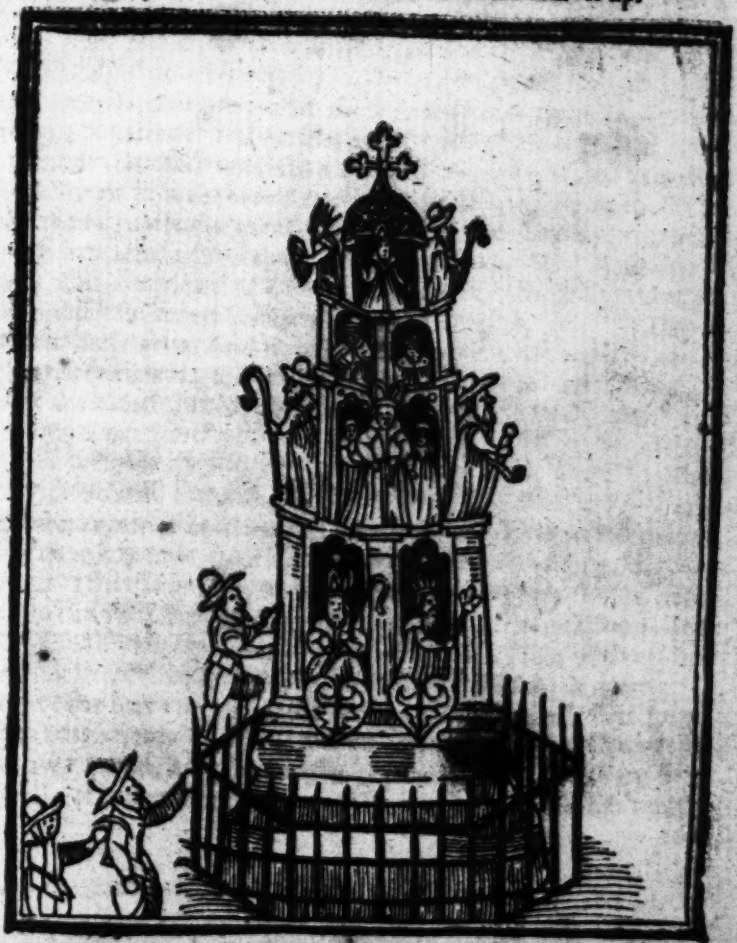
FINIS.



# The Downe-fall of *Dagon*, or the taking downe of Cheap-side Crosse this second of May, 1643.

wherein is contained these principalls following, viz.

First, Cheapeside Crosse sick at the heart. Secondly, his Death and Funeral. Thirdly, his Will, Legacies, Inventory and Epitaph. Fourthly, the Reason why it was taken downe, and the authority for it. Fifthly, the benefit and profit that is made of the materialls of it, and the severall summes of money which is offered for it; likewise the satisfaction it will give to thousands of people. Sixthly, notes worthy of the Readers observation, that the Crosse should just happen to bee taken downe on that day which Crosses were first invented and set up.



Printed for *Thomas Wilson*. 1643. *May* 2.



# The Downe-fall of Dagon, or the taking downe of Cheap-side Crosse, &c.

IT is an easier taske to reckon up all the species and severall kinds of nature, than to describe all the Sects, Divisions, and opinions in Religion that is now in and about this Kingdome and City of London; so that whereas there is but one Truth and one way guiding thereunto; the people of our Land cannot agree about this one way: but Errour and Scisme being multiplyed manifold, they can all finde out those waies to a haire; so that the times remaine still as corrupt in manners as ever any age heretofore ever did, I will leave all particuler vices which are too common and frequent amongst us in these our dayes, and come to the subject in hand namely, the complaint of Cheape-side Crosse, which it makes in his own defence before it suffers its decay or ruine, fearing that it must be pulled down. And now to see the misery of a high fortune, I that was so stout and glorious, and did not looke for a fall, am now become the hatefull Idoll of the City: I cannot speake much being of Stone, but I will give you a briefe expression of my antiquity; King *Edward* was the first that built me, and many more Crosses in severall Towne at the death of good Queene *Elenor*, and in *Anno* 1441. I was repaired in beautifull manner, then sixe thousand pound was given to my new erecting, and have beene so often guelded at many times that I am sorry to thinke that all my glory should now be laid in the dust, but I am not the greatest that have fallen;—but now it is no time for me to bable out my griefes, Time with all his houres and yeares shall lament me and my violent undoing.

But give me leave in my anger to expresse my mind. 'Tis some body was my enemy, and I cannot tell who it was; but I can geese well, down I must; and go even flat the Earth, and then I am sure they will not remember me, I was glorious in many Kings reigns and

and esteemed well in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, beautified at King *James* his comming into England, and againe at King *Charles* his comming to the Crowne. And I am now accounted for a Popish, all my antiquity is lost from time to time, which if I should mention would wary you with the relation. I am esteemed and held not fit to have my abiding in the Cittie, I am called by the name of the Cittie Idoll, the Brownists spit at me and throw stones at mee as they com along the street, the Familists hide their eyes with their fingers, the Annabaptists wish me to be knockt in peeces, as I am like to be this day, the sisters of the Fraternity wil not come neare me, but go about by Watling street, and come in againe by Sopper-lane to buy their provisions of the Market-folkes. Oh these and the like occasions have grieved and tormented my whole Fabricke, I ghesse the cause, that I am now to be ruinated and quite pulld down. It is the Crosse that stands upon my head which is a moate in their eyes. Nay they doe not only say that I am an Idoll, but that I am a supporter of Idols, because divers Images are placed about me, but I feel my selfe now sicke, nay sick at heart, and I groane under the burthen of my owne fabrick, for I hear and am certainly told that I am to be pulled downe and defaced this morning, Oh I feele the pangs of death come upon me, I shall never see the end of the merry month of May, my breath is at a period, my life is gone, for I feel my selfe dying downwards, my head being the first part that doth loose the sence, my tongue rattles in my throat, and just as the Crosse had so said, he presently dyed; whereupon his Executors hearing of it, came in; and would have him embalmed; and they first strook off his head, and so by degrees descended to other parts of the body, and left him like a Scelcton or an Anatomy of his body or corpes by ten or eleven a clock at noone, with that his Executors looking about, found his Will which he had got, being written in this manner.

---

### Iesus Crosse *his last Will.*

IN nomine, I desire to be taken downe in a decent round manner, and that no spoile be made of my fabricke; for some parts of mee worth money.

*Item,*

*Item*, I pray my Executors to be civill, and that they have a care that no hurt be done at my demolishing.

*Item*, The Gold which I am gilded withall, I appoint to be filed and taken off by those persons which will give most mony for me.

*Item*, I give to the Red-coate Souldiers all the Lead which is about me to make bullets if occasion be; if not I give it to the company of Plummers to make Cesternes and Pumps with, or else licke wel Ales.

*Item*, I give my Iron-worke to those people which make good Swords at Hounslow, for I am all Spanish Iron, and Steele on the backe.

*Item*, I give my Body and Stones to those Masons and Workemen that cannot tell how to frame the like againe, to keep by them for a patterne; for in time there will bee more Crosses in London then ever there was yet, &c.

*Item*, I give my ground whereon I stood to be a free Market-place, hoping that no more people will goe round as they have used to do about me; but will be content to speake well of me hereafter, because I suffer so roundly and so patiently for my errours.

*Vera copia testamenti Iasperi Crosse ribus.*

## *Cheap side Crosse his Epitaph.*

*I Looke for no praise when I am dead,*
*For going the right way I never did tread,*
*I was as hard as an Aldermans doore,*
*That's shut and stony hearted to the poore.*
*I never gave Almes, nor did any thing*
*Was good, nor e're said, God save the King:*
*I stood like a stock that was made of wood,*
*And yet the people would not say, I was good:*
*And if I tell them plaine they are like to me,*
*Like stone to all goodnesse, but now Reader see*
*Me in the dust, for Crosses must not stand*
*There is too much Crosse-tricks within the Land;*
*And having so done never any good,*
*I leave my praise for to be understood;*

*Ex-*

*For many women after thou my losse.*
*Will remember me, and still wil be crosse.*
*Crosse trikes, Crosse wayes, and Crosse vanities,*
*Believe the Crosse speakes truth, for here he lyes.*

This Crosse in Cheap-side was first erected as I have said by *Edward* the first, in commemoration of his Queen whose name was *Ellenor*; Secondly it was then builded for an Ornament to the City, being placed in the chiefest place or streete of the said City, and therefore was thought & held at that time for a glorious Fabricke, and would continue there for antiquity sake, rather then to give an occasion of offence to any; It hath now stood neer upon 400. or five hundred yeares, still repaired and beautified, but never suffered martirdome till now; it hath beene twelve severall times adorned and decored in all ages; and was ever held a gracefull Fabricke to London, till of late yeares; untill indeed many superstitious and foolish people have publickly adored it and worshipped it as they have gone by it; which offence is the maine cause of its pulling downe and defacing.

*The reason why* Cheap-side *Crosse was pulled downe.*

BEcause it is in its own structure a monument of Idolatry, and may better suite well with an Idolatrous place, as Rome and such like places, than for this civill Citie, wherein so much preaching and teaching of Gods word is used; Again, that many people by nature desire a visible God, rather then an invisible God; Also that it occasions many from comming to looke for Christ in an invisible way, so long as they can see him visible. Besides, divers ignorant people who have been misled and misinformed in the Protestant Rligion, have by such like Images been seduced and made believe that praying to severall Saints, desiring them and instigating them, that they would solicite and speake to our Saviour in their behalfe, that our Saviour would make intercession to his father for the mittigation, and for the forgivenesse of their sins; This opinion of theirs is very vaine, idle and rediculous; and a great sin committed against God himselfe; robbing and taking away his honour due unto him; and giving it creatures; as to the Saints and Angells, in worshipping pictures crucifixes, and such like traditions and inventions of men; So this Crosse hath been a great meanes to cause superstition and idolatry from time to time in worshipping and adoring it, as many people have done as they passe by it; for divers people both men & women hath been seeen by severall honest, ancient, and good Inhabitants dwelling neare the place, that sundry sorts of people have by three a clock in the morning come barefoot to the Crosse, and have kneeled downe, and said something to themselves, crossed their fore-head and their breast, and so risen and making obeysance,

Went

went away, which punishment was enjoyned upon them as a penance for some sins they had committed: Likewise that hundreds of people have been publickly seen, and in the midst of the day, bend their bodies to it, and put off their hats, and crosse themselves: Not only as they have gone on foot by it, but divers that have rid on horse-back, and in Coaches have put out their heads and pull'd off their hats, and done reverence to it; this hath bin done for these many yeares together, and it hath bin offensive to many good Christians to behold such such Idolatrous worship given to a Crosse, and to Images, and pictures, in so much that it hath bin often complained on by divers godly Ministers, not only in their publicke Sermons, but also in their printed books; shewing the unlawfulnesse of it, and how it hath from time to time encreased and encouraged people to Popery: therefore seeing no redresse or helpe for the suppression of it; the Common Counsell of London did Petition to the honourable Houses of Parliament for redresse in this case, which was soon granted, and had a warrant to take it downe, by all the faire meanes they could devise, calling to their ayd the Trained bands of the City for their defence, because no uproare might arise thereby, and that no bloud might be spilt; because divers people had given out they would rather lose their lives then it should down: down it must, and it is so ordered to be taken downe that the materials may be made usefull other way, and that they should be sold for a valuable consideration; the materials being most lead, iron, and stone; some report divers of the Crownes and Scepters are silver; besides the rich gold that it is guilded with, which as it is reported, may be filed & taken off, and yield a good value; so that divers which have offered some 400.l. some 500.l. but they that bid must offer 1000.l. for it; and so this Tuesday it is a taking down with a great deal of judgment and discretion, and foure Companies of the Trane Bands of the City to guard and defend those that are about the worke, & to keepe others from domineering, and so I leave it to bee made levell with the ground this second day of *May* 1643. *And I pray good Reader take notice by the Almanacke, for the signe falls just at this time to bee in the feete, to shew that the Crosse must be laid equall with the ground for our feet to tread on, and what day it was demolished; that is on the day when Crosses were first invented and set up, and so I leave the rest to your consideration.*

FINIS.

FINIS.

# THE CAVALIERS Catechiſme:

OR,

The Reformed Proteſtant catechiſing the Antichriſtian Papiſts, Malignants, Incendiaries, and other ill-affected Perſons under the name of *Cavaliers.*

WITH

*Their diſtinct Anſwer thereunto.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Watſon.* 1643. May 3.

LONDON,
Printed for Thomas Walker, 1645.

# The Cavaliers Catechiſme.

## Queſtion.

WHat is your name?

A. Cavalier.

Qu. Who gave you that name?

A. My ſeducers and deceivers, in my innocency, wherein I was made a member of the Church of Rome, and conſequently a limb of Antichriſt, an enemy to all goodneſſe, the child of the divell, an inheriter of the kingdome of darkneſſe, amongſt the infernall ſpirits that rule in the ayre of this terreſtriall globe.

Qu. How were your Witneſſes denominated?

A. Lack-wit and Ignorance: for if they had wit and knowledge, they would not have given the title of a Gentleman to a clowne or Corydon.

Qu. What did your Witneſſes promiſe you ſhould perform when you came to maturity and ripe age, when you received your name?

A. That I ſhould forſake all Piety and godlineſſe, all vertue and purity, the true and Apoſtolique Religion, grounded upon the verity of Gods word, that I ſhould perſecute all profeſſors of the ſame, envy all goodneſſe and good men, promote the Romiſh Religion and Kingdome of Antichriſt, by any manner of meanes whatſoever, be it by treaſonable plots againſt Princes or States, or by rayſing publike Warre and ſedition in Common-Wealths, and the like.

Qu. Art thou able to doe theſe things of thy ſelfe, that were promiſed for the?

A. No verily, but by the helpe of the reſt of my fellow members received into that Congregation, I doubt not to be inabled and ſtrengthened to performe all that was promiſed on behalfe.

Qu. What is meant by your name Cavalier?

A. Knighthood, very unfit for me, for as I am told, it was a name firſt given to Gentlemen as an augmentation of honour, by the Frenchmen in the Warres, the word being derived of the French word Chivall, a Horſe, by which Troopers or Horſemen in battaile were called Chevaliers, by corruption of ſpeech in the proceſſe

ceſſe of time, called by the Engliſh Cavaliers, now Cavallers, or Cavaleers, but by the better ſort Cavaliers, by all which theſe particulars, may be collected, that as the world is now degenerated from the true pronunciation of the originall word, ſo the naturall diſpoſition of men are degenerated to the word now in uſe, Cavallers, or Cavaliers, for in our actions there is no ſolidity, nor in our ſpeeches ſobriety, nor in our hearts integrity, but all our arguments are maintained by cavelling, and our actions defended by beſtiallity, and rude diſorderly behaviour, like unto untamed horſes, from whence we received the firſt denomination, whoſe order is altogether to diſorder and confound the warlike Rancks in Battaile, and to bring to confuſion and deſtruction, is the onely ſence they have of their preſent actions.

Qu. Doe you conceive that the way you have been trained up and educated in from the time of your birth to this preſent, is to be defended by thoſe meanes as you have bin taught?

A. Yis truely, for theſe reaſons, 1. In reſpect of the Commandements I have received from the Church wherein I was received a member.

2. In

2 In respect of the danger I am told I shall fall into, and punishment I am worthy of, if I desert the service of that cause to which I have been devoted, and which my Witnesses ingaged themselves for me in my infancy, that I should uphold and maintain when I should come to age?

Qu. What are the commandements you have learned, and that you conceive your selfe bound to observe and keep?

A. These following.

1 That I should observe the will and pleasure of his Holinesse of Rome in all matters touching salvation, without the use of the Scriptures, they being by him counted deficient, and have not sufficient instructions contained in them to lead a pious life, and bring to future happinesse.

2 To commit treason against Kings that oppose his Holinesse, and reject his doctrinall traditions.

3 To commit fornication, adultery, rapine, and the like.

4 To reject the Christian Sabbath, and preferre the Jewish.

5 To

5. To admit of no leſſe then ſeven Sacraments neceſſary to ſalvation.

6. To ſweare, and forſweare, for the defence of the Catholique cauſe.

7. To cozen, deceive, and circumvent, our Neighbours for our own advantage.

8. To acknowledge no god greater, or more to be reverenced, and worſhiped, then the Pope of Rome.

9. To worſhip and adore Images, as much as Chriſt himſelfe.

10. To beare falſe witneſſe againſt our neighbour, for any occaſion whatſoever.

11. For all which the Popes indulgent pardon is ſufficient to preſerve from damnation.

12. That there is no greater damnation, then the Popes curſe, and excommunication.

Qu. Doe you believe all theſe precepts?

A. Yis, and have and will to the loſſe of my life and fortunes, (if I had any) obſerve and keep them.

Qu. What is a Sacrament according to the inſtruction of your Church?

A. It is a ſigne of a thing ſignified, which we cannot diſcern with the Eye, but by the ſigne.

Qu. Ex-

Q. Explain the ſame, according to your ſence and knowledge?

A. Then thus, by the ſigne of the Croſſe is ſignified the crucifying of ☞, by the picture of the Virgin Mary, we are taught that ſhe was the Mother of and queen of heaven, by the picture of the Apoſtles, we are taught to remember that they were the founders of the Church, & of that ſanctity & power, that they are now in heavan able to cure the diſeaſes of living Saints on earth, as they did when they were on Earth, and therefore we are as much bound to pray to them for helpe upon any ocaſion, as to God, they knowing our wants, by a fellow feeling of our miſeries when they lived with us, many other examples I could give, by which you may underſtand what we mean by Sacraments,

Q. Then every Image or Picture, whether of Saints departed, Patriarkes, Prophets, or Apoſtles, are Sacraments, and to be ſacredly obſerved and kept?

A. Yis verrily, and as much in eſteem as the two Sacraments of Baptiſme and the Supper.

Q. Are theſe the things you now take up Arms for, againſt your Country, and ſeeke to bring the ſame to utter confuſion and deſtruction?

A. Yis, and will never give over ſo long as life laſteth till we have reſtored the uſe of theſe things in the Church of England, or looſe our bodies in the enterprize, for our ſoules we have aſſured hope to have them ſaved after we have felt ſome ſmall time of puniſhment in Purgatory, and his Holineſſe, our chiefeſt hope and defence, come to heaven before us as a great Saint, and by his mediation and intercеſſion, redeem us from that place of pain.

FINIS

I

C

O

E

T

T

A 23.

# DISCLAIMER

*AND*

# ANSWER

OF THE

## COMMONS OF *ENGLAND*,

Of and unto a Scandalous Libell, lately published against the PARLIAMENT, and especially the House of COMMONS and their Proceedings:

INTITVLED

*The Remonstrance of the Commons of* England *to the House of Commons assembled in PARLIAMENT,*

And falsely suggested to be preferred to them by the hands of the Speaker.

*WHEREIN*

The malicious Cavills and exceptions by the Libeller taken to the Proceedings of PARLIAMENT are detected and summarily answered, and the sottish ignorance and wicked falsehood of the Libeller cleerely discovered, and the Justice of the Proceedings of this PARLIAMENT and HOUSE of COMMONS evinced and manifested

*LONDON,* Ly. 4.

Printed by *G. M.* M.DC.XLIII.

# A DISCLAIMER AND ANSWER OF THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND,

Of and unto a Scandalous Libell, lately published against the PARLIAMENT, and especially the House of COMMONS and their Proceedings:

INTITULED

The Remonstrance of the Commons of England to the House of Commons assembled in PARLIAMENT, And fully suggested to be preferred to them by the hands of the Speaker.

WHEREIN

The malicious Cavills and exceptions by the Libeller taken to the Proceedings of PARLIAMENT are discovered and timarily answered, and the foolish ignorance and wicked falsehood of the Libeller cleerly discovered, and the Justice of the Proceedings of this PARLIAMENT and HOUSE of COMMONS evinced and manifested

LONDON,
Printed by G. M. M.D.C.XLIII.

# A Disclaimer and Answer of the Commons of *England* to a scandalous Libell lately published against the Parliament, and especially the House of Commons and their proceedings, intituled, *The Remonstrance of the* COMMONS *of* ENGLAND.

WE the Commons of *England* doe not prejudge but upon mature deliberation had of the said Pamphlet, and of the Contents thereof, doe righteously judge and pronounce the Authour thereof to be no true sonne of our mother, but some bastard of *Rome* and brat of a *Sepoy*, his spirit bewrayes him and his language, which is of *Babel*, and not of our *Canaan*; belching out the poyson of an envenomed and rotten heart in blasphemies against the *Parliament*, the mother, nurse and onely preserver of our Religion, Lawes, Liberties and comforts under God, and against the House of Commons, which hath ever been the fastest friend to this Kingdome, and the happinesses thereof, and against this now House of Commons and Parliament, which hath prevented more miseries from, and procured more good to this Kingdome and our neighbour Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *Ireland* then any former: Of which we shall shew our selves to be infinitely unworthy and unthankfull for, if we should not vindicate them, and their fidelity; and might justly expect for such neglect to be delivered over unto the extreame tyranny, and the miserable effects of it, which first by subtilty and cunning workings in a clandestine way, and now forcibly by the Sword and hand of Violence is endeavoured to be brought upon us and our posterity, and which we had been before this overwhelmed in, but that the Lord hath made them his blessed hand to prevent and keepe off the same. And when we perceived this Devill incarnate to hide himself

himselfe, and vent his impious blasphemies under our name, of whom we are very confident he never harboured a good or honourable thought, or regarded us more then the dung of the Earth, but for his own base and accursed ends we could not be silent least we should betray our innocency, and be thought to be such as he is.

*Object.* The first thing we meet with all in this Libell, is, *That the Author counterfeits himselfe to be a Physitian, and pretends a great cure, and propounds speciall preparatives unto it. The first speaking in our names to the House of Commons, he affirmes us to be still, the true body of the Commons of* England, *and they but the representative.*

*Sol.* And in this he shews himselfe to be grossely ignorant, as he is wickedly malicious, for the House of Commons is a part of us, and the choice most excellent and principall part too, and not only our Representative, and are interessed and shining in the publike good and evill as much as any, and more then most of us.

*Obj.* He saith, *We have not so delegated our power to the House of Commons, as to make them the Governours of us, and of our Estates, and that in truth they are but our Procurators to speake for us in that great Councell.*

*Sol.* This is a fuller discovery of his sottish ignorance, for he knows nothing of the nature of Parliaments, that knows not that the House of Commons is absolutely instructed with our persons and estates, and by our Lawes invested with a power to dispose of them as they shall thinke meet, not onely by making new Lawes, but also as they are a great Court above all our ordinary Courts, to governe us, and determine of all things proper to the power and jurisdiction thereof in all things tending to the conservation of the Common-wealth and of our Religion, Lawes and Liberties, and to be limited to be onely Procurators to speak for us is senselesse and ridiculous.

*Ob.* 3. He saith, *That in right we ought to have accesse to those whom we have chosen, as there shall be cause to impart our desires unto them, and that they ought not to refuse us.*

*Sol.* We never found our selves denied in any matter so much as

 desire

desires to that Honourable House petitioning them in a fitting manner, when our Petitions have concerned the good, peace or safety of the Kingdome, things belonging to their jurisdiction: but if any of us have petitioned for matters of a private nature of right or wrong between particular persons, or in any way or manner not beseeming, we hold it fit such Petitions should be refused, and they ought not to be heard, much lesse accepted that so much forget themselves and their duties.

*Ob.* He saith, *That by involving our Votes in theirs, we had no purpose to make the Commons House of Parliament perpetuall Dictators.*

*Sol.* We ever had a purpose and conceive it necessary to the good of the Kingdome, That the Parliament continue together and remain undissolved, untill all the Grievances of the Kingdome be redressed and all things in the Kingdome reformed, and this we believe was and is by the constitution of this Kingdome, an undoubted Right and Priviledge of Parliament, for to that end we chose them, and are to maintaine them; and for that end they are called to doe and consent unto those things, which by them are to be ordained in and concerning the difficult and urgent businesses that concern the King and the State, and Defence of the Kingdome, and of the Church of *England*, as by the Writ of their Election appeares*. And certainly the late practises of our Kings (among other Incroachments and Usurpations of theirs) to dissolve Parliaments before they have done what they are called for, and setled all the businesse that concerne the State and Defence of the Kingdome, is against the originall Constitution and end of Parliaments and Rights of the Subject, and hath induced great Mischiefes, and almost Destruction and slavery upon this Kingdome, especially when the same have been dissolved, because according to their duties and the trust reposed in them by the Kingdome, they have endeavoured to reforme the oppressions done by colour of the Kings personall Command against Law, and contrary to the Kings Oath and Office, and have been made use of onely to burthen us with Subsidies and Taxes, and not to ease us of any unjust burthen or imposition. And if this worke for which the Parliament was

* Book of Entries Parliament 51.

called were once perfected, notwithstanding the Act of continuance of this Parliament (which was made by this Babels assent, if he be an *English* man or Subject of *England*, and he party to it) yet we confident the Parliament would gladly assent to a dissolution of it, their attendance upon the publike service being extreamely burthensome and prejudiciall to their private estates and advantages.

*Ob.* 5. He saith, *That we never intended that the House of Commons should have such a latitude of power, as to imbarke us all in a civill warre to the destruction of us and of our posterity.*

*Sol.* When we chose our Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament, we entrusted them with all the power we could invest them withall, to doe whatsoever in their wisdome they should thinke meet, and to use all meanes, even warre or whatsoever should to them seem convenient or necessary for the safety or preservation of our Religion, Lawes and Liberties, and we hold it infinitly better to endure for a time a civill warre, and the effects of it, then to loose our Lawes, Liberties and Religion, and with our posterity to be inslaved perpetually to the personall wils of our Kings, and to the base spirits of wicked Councellors that pervert and seduce them from their people. We never received prejudice from any free Parliament, from the beginning of this Kingdom hitherto, but we have in all ages suffered from our Princes, when contrary to their Oath, Office and trust, they have followed their personall wils, and forced the illegall issues thereof upon us, and forsaken or neglected the Lawes and the counsels of Parliament, and we never found any meanes to relieve us against such sufferings, but by our Parliaments, which as we respect the happinesse of our selves and of our posterity, we will love and adhere unto.

*Ob.* 6. He saith, *We were further off from having any thought, that by any of their Votes they would or could draw us into any acts of disloyalty or disobedience against our naturall liege Lord, to whom by the Lawes of God and man, we have and will pay allegeance and fidelity.*

*Sol.* We could never heare of it, neither doth this false Libeller expresse any particular Vote of the House of Commons, by which



any

any man can be justly said to be drawne into any act of disloyalty or disobedience against the King, if he had we should have bin able to give our sence of it. But the deceitfull are conversant in Generals.

We have seen and considered his preparatives, and by it we see what Physitian we have, if this Mountebanke should be entertained, that so impudently thrusts himselfe into office before he be called. Now let us follow this wild-Goose on in his chace: Who next-ly offers divers things to the consideration of the House of Commons.

*object.* And first he saith, *We are resolved with our lives and fortunes to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by the lawes in our Church, and to maintaine our well setled government under a Monarchy, acording to the Knowne Lawes of this Land, and to maintaine the just Priviledges of our Parliament, without which our Lawes can hardly be continued, and in asserting of this, we have the daily Protestation of both Houses, and His Majesties Declaration; and we hold our selves bound in Reverence to his Person, and in Christianity to believe, that he will faithfully performe his word with his people, and that we have this further assurance thereof, that he hath descended so low from his Throne, as to acknowledge some errours, that have slipt him in his past government, and to undertake not to give way to the like hereafter, and that we wish that the House of Commons would with the same Ingenuity acknowledge their errours and amend them.*

*Sol.* This man though he assume our Name is farre from our sense. We dare not limit the holy one of *Israel*, the holy Scriptures is the adequate object of our Faith and Religion and not our Lawes, and if any thing concerning Religion be established by our Laws, which is not warranted by the holy Scriptures, or that is defective and comes not up to the perfect rule of Gods Word, we desire our Laws may be amended by the Parliament, and all the Worship of God and Discipline of the Church, formed in all things according to the patterne given of God, least the divine Curse lye upon us and our Land, for adding to the Word or diminishing ought from it, and the Scriptures reject every thing in the Worship of God meerely for this

cause,

cauſe, becauſe he hath not commanded it, becauſe it never came into his mind; and countes it vaine Worſhip, vaine Inventions, if it be more precepts or not part of his Law: Secondly, we cannot allow of the Epithite given to our Lawes, limiting them to knowne Lawes; for be they knowne or unknowne to us, we leave the declaring and determining of them to Courts of Juſtice, eſpecially the moſt high Court, the Parliament, and this is certainely knowne Law, and hath ever beene ſo: The King hath beene in all Ages held and pronounced by our Lawes ignorant of them, as we for the moſt part of us are, and therefore were never by our Lawes intruſted with it. And it is neither Law nor reaſon; That Delinquents againſt the Law ſhould expound or declare the Law, as now adayes they preſume to doe; for if that ſhall be permitted, they would be ſure to eſcape: There is certainely a Snake hid under this greene Graſſe, knowne Lawes; for our parts we reſolve with our lives and fortunes, to maintaine our Religion according to the Word of God, the only rule and judge of it, whatſoever our Lawes be concerning it, for ſo our God hath commanded; and to maintaine our Lawes as they are or ſhall bee declared and determined in our Courts of Juſtice, the onely certaine way to know them by, and not to allow of any thing our King or Delinquents ſhall pretend to be Law, though the ſame be ever ſo much cried up for knowne. And we are as covetous to have Reall ground to confide in his Majeſties Proteſtations as any can be, and are onely troubled and ſhaken, that we cannot ſo fix upon them as we would, by the wayes of government and actions, that under theſe Proteſtations from the beginning of his Majeſties Reigne hitherto have run and doe runne cleane contrary unto them. Can the admitting of Maſſe and Maſſe-Prieſts againſt the Law in the Queenes Houſes and elſewhere, and the open exerciſe of that abominable Idolatry now in *Redding* every day, and in *Yorke*, and the permitting of the holy Scriptures to be burnt in contempt of God under the Gallowes and elſewhere in *Redding*, the Arming of Papiſts and confiding in them, and the perſecuting of the ſtrictneſſe of Religion under the Names of Puritans and Round-heads, conſiſt with the maintaining of the true

Ier. 19. 5. Lev. 10. 1 Mat. 15. 5. Pſal 119. 113. Deut. 12. 32.

Proteſtant

Protestant Religion. Can the Illegall taxes, Impositions, Contributions, Pillaging, Plundring, consist with the maintenance of the Lawes, Liberties and Properties of the Subject? *Quid verba audio cum facta videam.* We should receive more satisfaction in our Kings amending his Errours acknowledged, then we can in his acknowledgement of them, and persisting in them, yea increasing them notwithstanding his acknowledgements.

And for the supposed Errours of the House of Commons, because the Malice of this fellow scrapes together all that he can imagin to be Errours of theirs, and Malice is ever the fullest accuser: We will proceede to consider and examine them, and if any shall appeare, we are confident the House of Commons will not only ingeniously confesse, but speedily amend them, because we have ever found them really and actively ready and carefull to amend Lawes passed by them, and all other things wherein any slip or errour hath happened.

*Object.* First he saith, *that under colour of advancing Religion, incouragement is given to Anabaptists, Brownists and all Sectaries.*

*Sol.* If to accuse so generally and incertainely shall suffice, no Innocent shall escape this malitious envious tongue: Where, when, or how is this incouragement given, or by whom? If he meane the House of Commons as he would insinuate, we cannot receive his accusation; for if by the Apostles rule we be not to receive an accusation against an Elder under two witnesses, much lesse may we receive it against such a Senate of Elders, upon the single testimony of this fellow, whom we find a lyer or deceiver in all he saith. Secondly, We are not ignorant that the Sects he mentioneth, were fomented and multiplied in this Kingdome in the time of the reigne and late extreame tyranny of the Bishops, to vexe the Puritans (under which nick-Name they included all that made any conscience of their wayes) on the one side, as the Papists were cherished and increased to vex them on the other side; for these Sectaries being taken and brought from their Illegall Conventicles to the High Commission Court in great heards and droves, found favour, and were with some slight reproofe or pecuniary Mulct let goe, when a conscientious painefull

Minister, if he could not swallow a Ceremony themselves proclaimed indifferent, was stript of all he had, cast into perpetuall prison and destroyed. Thirdly, We know it doth not belong to the Jurisdiction of the House of Commons to meddle with these Sectaries, there being an ordinary open way in inferiour Courts of Justice to punish such Sectaries, namely in the Kings Bench, and at the Assizes and Sessions. Fourthly, We know also, that what the House of Commons can doe for the suppressing of these Sects, hath beene done by them; for first, they have passed a Bill for a Consultation to be had with Learned Divines, about such a Church government and discipline, as is agreeable to the Word of God, to the end that thereby all Sects may be suppressed, and we know where it lyes, and in the meane time they have declared and Voted against them, to expresse how hatefull they are unto them, and how seriously they desire and intend the suppressing of them, as appeares in the Declarations of both Houses of Parliament.

Pag 659.

*Ob.* Secondly, he saith, *That under pretence of hatred of Popery, the Booke of Common-prayer, which is established by Law, is cried downe by many, and all decent Orders in Gods outward Worship, and every man left to the dictate of his private spirit, and he would have the Lawes against Papists and Sectaries to be put in due execution.*

*Sol.* We observe that where the Libeller dares not charge the House of Commons plainely and directly with so grosse a lye as crying downe the Booke of Common Prayer, he doth maliciously and wickedly insinuate it; Wherefore else doth he mention it among the things which he suggests to be Voted, Ordered and Acted by them. And the punishment of such as cry it downe wee know belongs to the Jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Justice, not to them. But in regard that the Bishops themselves have agreed there are many things in that Booke fit to be reformed, and that tender consciences are to be eased of some Ceremonies mentioned in it, the House of Commons have thought it to be very unfit that the severity of the Lawes concerning it should be pressed, before the assembly of Divines have met and setled it in such a manner as may be inoffensive and

and

and more agreeable to holy Scriptures; and the rather, becauſe it cannot be cleerely proved what Booke is eſtabliſhed by Law, the Booke which was eſtabliſhed and annexed to the Act of Parliament of 5. and 6. *Ed.* 6. to which Booke the Statute of 1. of the Queene referrs, being taken off the File in the firſt Yeare of Queene *Mary* by Act of Parliament, and deſtroyed or loſt, and ſo no Booke remaining of Record, and the Bookes in print ſo differing among themſelves, that which is the Booke eſtabliſhed by Law cannot appeare.

And for decency in Gods outward Worſhip, whatſoever is determined to be ſuch by man, and not by the Spirit of God in his Word, is the dictate of a private ſpirit, [a] and mans inventions in Gods Worſhip are abominable unto God, who is not pleaſed with the deviſes of our hearts, but reſerves it peculiarly unto himſelfe, to teach us how to worſhip him both inwardly and outwardly, and we deſire that all voluntary Religion and will-worſhip and humility, [b] not directed by Gods Word (in which onely we have his minde made knowne [c] unto us by our Prophet [d] the Lord Jeſus) though it have the colour of our Law, may be cried downe, caſt out and removed according to Gods will, leaſt he ſay unto us when we preſent our worſhip before him, *who required theſe things at your hands?* Eſa. 1. 12.

[a] 2 Pet. 2. 20.
[b] Col. 2. 23.
[c] 1 Cor. 2. 16.
[d] Ioh. 1. 18. Act. 3. 22.

*Ob.* Thirdly, He ſaith, *That under the colour of regulating the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, and taking away the High Commiſſion Court, all ſpirituall Iuriſdiction for the Coercive part therof, which is the life of the Law, is taken away, ſo as now no hainous crime inquirable by theſe Courts can be puniſhed, no Hereſie or Schiſmes reformed, no Church can be inforced to be repaired, no Church Officers compellable to take upon them their Offices or performe their duties, no Parſons or Vicars can be inforced to attend their Cures, or give ſatisfaction for the paines of them that doe, No tithes or other Church duties can be recovered by their Law.*

*Sol.* Our deſire is that the Parliament would be pleaſed not onely to regulate Eccleſiaſticall Courts, which were abuſed to the pilla-ging of our eſtates, and inſlaving of our perſons, as well as the High Commiſſion Court, though in a different degree, but that their Iuriſdiction in cauſes Matrimoniall and Teſtamentary, and concerning

Tithes, repairing of Churches, and intermedling with Church Officers uſurped upon the Temporall law, ſhould be wholly taken away and reſtored to the Common Law, and that Non-reſidency, Idleneſſe of Parſons and Vicars, and neglect of their Cures ſhould by ſome good Lawes to be made, be made inquirable and puniſhable in the Common Law Courts, where we ſhall find certaine and ſpeedy Juſtice, with eaſe to our purſes, and without great travell to our perſons, and not be conſumed and tired out with endleſſe chargeable ſuites concerning them as we have beene in thoſe Courts, and notwithſtanding remaine in the long runne uncertaine of Juſtice. And for matters in their owne nature meerely and onely Spirituall, as Adultery, *&c.* we deſire ſome better courſe ſhould be ſet for the puniſhment of them according to the Word of God, and not by the Popes Canon Law; and we partly perceive by the Bills that have paſt both Houſes of Parliament, that they not only intend, but had long before this ſetled all theſe things by their wiſedomes in the beſt way, if they had not beene hindered by men that hate to be reformed; the fault this Libeller would inſinuate to be in the Parliament, lies not in them, but in others that are of the ſame ſpirit with this falſe accuſer.

*Ob.* Fourthly, He ſaith, *That under the Name of reforming the Church governement, the Parliament endeavoureth to take away the function and very being of Church governours, as Biſhops, Deanes, &c. and ſo to take away at once the preferments of Learned men and incouragements of Learning: Let the abuſes be taken away, but not the good uſes alſo.*

*Sol.* We beleeve this may be as well objected by the Pope, his Cardinalls and ſhavelings, as for Biſhops, Deanes, *&c.* whoſe temporall honours and poſſeſſions are greater, and by them held the functions and very beings of Church governement, and the preferments of Learned men, and the incouragements of Learning: but we deſire all theſe functions and beings of governement, being abuſes and equally branches of the Man of ſin, the Popiſh Hierarchy and Babell that muſt fall, may be taken away roote and branch out of the Church, as they be out of other reformed Churches: And that the

Goſpell-

Goſpell-Biſhops, painefull Preachers of the Goſpell, that give themſelves to prayer, and the adminiſtration of the Word; may be reſtored to all the parts of their function and office, which theſe uſurpers have a long time deprived them of; And that the maintenance devoured by theſe Idle ſlow bellies, may be diſtributed among the Churches officers ordained by God, worthy of double honour, which will be preferments for Learned men that ſhall make uſe of their Learning for the ſaving of ſoules, the higheſt and moſt noble imployment of it, and incouragement to all true Learning. 1 Act. 20. 28. & 6. 4.

*Ob.* Fiftly, He ſaith, *That for rectifying Church diſcipline and ſome things in Doctrine alſo, an Aſſembly of Divines is propounded to be convocated and conſulted with: The matter is right but the manner amiſſe, for the Divines are not nominated by Divines, who can beſt judge of their abilities, which is the Legall way. The greateſt part of thoſe who are Named, are knowne or juſtly ſuſpected to be perſons ill diſpoſed to the peace of the Church, and addicted too much unto Innovations, and the Parliament being all Laymen, are to be the only Iudges of what ſhall be propounded and determined. The Divines are but their Aſſiſtants, and the King is totally to be excluded from having any voice or hand in it, and as it is propounded, it is to be a perpetuall Convocation if the Houſes of Parliament ſo pleaſe.*

*Sol.* This cavill might have been made to the Reformation of our Doctrine, in the beginning of the Raigne of Qu. *Elizabeth*, wherin if the conſultation had bin with Divines, named by Divines, there ſhould never have been any Reformation at all, the legall way had prevented the divine way of Reforming this Church, the Divines being then univerſally corrupt in Doctrine, as they now be in diſcipline. Have not the eares of our Divines univerſally been ſo filled with *Lauds*, *Whites*, *Wrens* and their complices, clamours of Biſhops government by *Divine Right*, and their hearts corrupted with a hopefull expectation themſelves might climbe up into the Chaire, as they are ſcarce patient to admit a queſtion to be made thereof, and ſit in ſuch a time and cauſe reaſonable to leane the Reformation of Diſcipline and Church-government upon ſuch deceitfull Reeds: will they not pierce the hand, and deceive and delude us? And when our

freſh experience in the laſt Convocation, informes us what a dreadfull miſery was like to have befallen us, had not this Parliament by the good providence of our God prevented it, by Divines nominating Divines, when both the Electors and elected are birds of a feather, like *Ieremies* bad figgs, exceeding bad; ſhall we now againe deſire ſuch a choice? We conceive it is better never conſult with, never chooſe Divines then give way to ſuch elections or nominations. If Divines be choſen, and thoſe godly and learned, that we hope will by their debates endeavour to ſearch out Truth, and love and imbrace it found out, and not ſeek themſelves, what matters it by whom they be nominated? And when we find the Houſe of Commons able to judge of and diſcover the inabilities, defects and errours of the laſt Convocation Divines choſen by Divines, and to convince them of their folly and wickedneſſe, ſhall we queſtion their ability to judge of the abilities of Divines, and their fitneſſe to nominate them to conſult of Diſcipline and Government of the Church? And that the Divines nominated by the Parliament, are ill-diſpoſed to the peace of the Church, we verily believe is a falſe, groundleſſe Accuſation, and if this man know any ſuch, he ſhall doe a very good office to name them, that they may be put out of this great imployment. And for their being addicted to Innovation, we feare it to be true of ſuch of them, as have given teſtimony thereof, in their giving way and yeelding unto the tyranny of the Biſhops in their late Innovations, preſſed without and againſt Law upon the Miniſters, and we know there are many ſuch nominated to be of the Aſſembly. But we conceive the Parliament have in their nomination and choice done, as thoſe that deſire to have the truth, and the beſt way of Church-government and Diſcipline found out, in that they have named men of very different judgements and opinions concerning the ſame, and as neare as they can honeſt men that will ſubmit to truth diſcovered and beaten out by debate and diſpute among them. And though this man call the Parliament Lay-men, we know though they be not in orders, they are in the language of the Scriptures, as much Clergy-men, *viz.* the *Lords lot, portion* and *inheritance* (as the word

word ſignifies) as thoſe that are in orders, and we find by experience, they can judge of Church-government and Diſcipline, and of the reaſons and grounds upon which Divines found their judgement concerning them, as well as Divines can and better too then our Convocation Divines, and ſuch as they have been members of the firſt great Councell at *Ieruſalem*[a], and of all great Councels in ortho- [a] Act. 15.
dox times. And the concluſion and reſults of the debates concerning Church-government and Diſcipline, being to be ſetled for Law by Act of Parliament, the Houſes of Parliament muſt neceſſarily be Judges thereof, and that the King is excluded, without whoſe Royall aſſent the Act cannot be of force, is as ſenſleſſe an Aſſertion, as it is groundleſſe, and ſo is his Suggeſtion that this may be a perpetuall Convocation, when the Divines are to conſult of a few ſpeciall matters only, and report their Concluſions and reaſons to the Parliament and then to end, which cannot be a worke of many weeks or months at moſt.

*Ob.* Sixtly, He ſaith, *That under the colour of freedom of preaching, ſeditious Sermons are preached daily in the hearing of many of the Houſe of Commons, who traduce the Kings ſacred Perſon, ſlander his Government, and in expreſſe tearmes incourage the maintaining and continuing of this unnaturall and unchriſtian warre, and yet none are puniſhed for it. Which makes him feare that this is and long hath beene made by ſome, to be the principall engine to kindle this fire of hell to the juſt ſcandall of all good men and ſlander of our Religion, this Doctrine comming ſo neare to that of the* Jeſuites.

*Sol.* If there were any truth in this charge, and this man were guided by any good ſpirit, he would rather turne Informer againſt ſuch Preachers and hearers in a right way by complaining of it to the Parliament or either Houſe, as well, yea ... rather then infert it in this Libell, and in ſuch a generall manner without certainty or particularity, and we believe the Sermons thus clamoured againſt are printed, for moſt, if not all, preached before the Houſe of Commons, or in the Church where many of them uſually heare, are publiſhed, and of theſe we can judge and muſt conclude, that this report of them is a

loud lie, like the reſt of this fellows ſcandalls. Indeed we know that many wicked Prieſts, Malignant againſt the Parliament, and the good and ſafety of the Kingdome have preached ſundry ſeditious Sermons tending to the maintenance and continuance of this unnaturall and unchriſtian civill-warre againſt the Parliament, and excepting ſuch and others of the like ſpirit, as this Libeller is, we are confident there is no man, eſpecially if he love the King and Parliament, but deſires there may be an honourable end and buriall of theſe contentions.

*Ob. 7. Divers worthy and painfull Preachers have been committed to priſon by the Houſe of Commons for delivering their conſciences freely and religiouſly, and preaching obedience to their Soveraigne. Theſe things tend mainly againſt the maintenance and propagating of the true Proteſtant Religion.*

*Sol.* If this man had informed himſelfe of the cauſes for which Preachers have beene committed by the Houſe of Commons, by the Articles exhibited and proved there againſt them, he could not be ſo wicked, as we conceive, as to publiſh ſo notorious a lie, as this is. For we find upon ſearch, that the Miniſters by them committed have publickly preached to ſtirre-up the Subjects to ſedition, to take up Armes againſt the *Parliament* and *Kingdome*, and to corrupt the King and us with the leaven of falſe flattering Doctrine, of abſolute Power in the King, to doe what he liſt with us, our eſtates and lives, to puffe-up the King above what is meet, and to draw us into a willing and conſcientious ſlavery; Doctrines deſtructive to the Kingdome, and contrary to the conſtitution thereof and our Lawes, and contrary to Gods command given us, *to ſtand faſt in the liberty wherof he hath made us free*, Gal. 5. 1.

And conſidering the endeavours of the Houſe of Commons to remove the Papiſts, Biſhops, and ſcandalous Miniſters and other rubbiſh that hindred the propogating of the true Proteſtant Religion; and to plant faithfull, orthodox, painfull labourers in this Church, which is ſo notorious to us all; Malice it ſelfe cannot deny, but that their waies tend unto the maintenance and propagating of our Religion.

*Ob.* Second-

*Ob.* Secondly, touching the maintaining the Lawes, hee charges the House of Commons with these particulars. First, *That they assume to themselves power by a bare Vote without Act of Parliament to expound or alter a Knowne Law, where that House formerly assumed no such power, but in order towards the making of a new Law, nor did the House of Peeres challenge any such thing, but they having the power of judicatory as Iudges have proceeded according to the Rules of the* Knowne Lawes, *and upon their Honours are answerable for the Iustice of their Iudgements, as other Courtes are upon their Oathes.*

*Sol.* It is plaine that this fellow erres through grosse ignorance of the proceedings of Parliament, and of all the Records thereof, in which there is nothing more frequent and familiar in all Ages, then to find the House of Commons declaring the Law, and complaining that the King hath done things against the Law. First, Judging and determining by Votes, and then claiming the Lawes and the Rights of the people and of their House, and the Lords in like manner, and that in generall, as well as particular cases, and not to leade the Reader---at this time higher; This appeares in the Petition of Right, wherein the Commons first declare, and expound the Lawes concerning these Rights therein claimed and usurped upon by the King. 2. The Lords joyn with them in that Declaration. And lastly, the King gives his Assent to this Declaration, before and without which these things were Law (the Statute being declaratory of former, not introductive of new Law.) And the Kings Assent was had only to stop the mouthes of cavilling Court, and Innes of Court Sycophants and Flatterers (the Moth of Kings and Kingdomes) against those Laws, and the rest of this charge is a grosse lie, and groundles imputation.

*Ob.* 2. He saith, *That the Parliament makes their owne Orders and Ordinances to be as Law, and compell them to be observed, and with a stricter hand, which may bind their Members, but not have the force of Laws till by the Kings Assent they be confirmed.*

*Sol.* Besides the two causes here admitted, that they may make

binding Orders. First in order to making of new Laws. Secondly, To bind their owne Members; it is moſt evident that the Orders and Ordinances of Parliament are binding and are to be obeyed; Firſt, where they are in purſuance of the Lawes in being, for to them principally belongs the care of preſerving the Lawes, and of inforcing obedience unto them, and of giving ſtrength and vigour unto them by the King and his ordinary Judges and miniſters of Juſtice neglected or abuſed. Such was the late Order of the Houſe of Commons for the pulling downe of *Crucifixes* and *Popiſh Images*, according to 3°. and 4°. *Edw.* 6ti. *Cap.* 10. revived 1°. *Iac. Cap.* 2. And againſt *Innovations in Religion*, impoſed upon the Subject againſt Law, as *bowing at the Name of Ieſus*, which is idolizing a Name againſt the Law of God, and without any Law of man, and they deceive their own ſouls, and endeavour to deceive others, that pretend they doe it to worſhip the Perſon of *Ieſus*, for if that were a reall intention and true, they would worſhip him repreſented by any other name, as *Chriſt*, *Saviour*, *Meſſias*, *Sonne of man*, &c. and to ſay it is in their liberty to worſhip him under one name and not another, is as groſſe a deceit, and pronounces it-----a will-worſhip and voluntary, an invention of man which God abhorres, as I have ſhewed before, and ſo indeed they worſhip their owne fancy and invention, and not the perſon of Chriſt, whoſe worſhip muſt only be according to his own rule. And laſtly, they may make Orders and compell obedience unto them, that are for the ſafety, defence and preſervation of the King and Kingdome *; The very words of the Writ by which they be called (not to trouble this ſhort Treatiſe with any more) manifeſts and proves this moſt clearly.

* They be choſen *ad faciendum & conſentiendum his quæ cõtigerint ordinari ſuper arduis & urgentibus negotijs regem ſtatum & deſenſionẽ regni as eccleſiæ concernent.*

*Ob.* Thirdly, He ſaith, *The Houſe of Commons takes themſelves ſo farre above the reach of the Lawes, that by their Orders and Ordinances, they injoyne the Iudges and miniſters of Iuſtice to forbeare, contrarie to their Oathes, to proceed in their ordinarie courſes, when they pleaſe.*

*Sol.* We are troubled more with the ignorance and folly of this man, then with any knotty matter of difficulty to anſwer his ſcandalous Pamphlet. We have obſerved that for a ſuperiour Court to enjoyne

joyne and prohibit the proceedings of an inferiour Court, is as common as *Ergo* in the Universitie Schooles, and Judges and ministers so enjoyned or prohibited are bound by their Oathes to surcease and obey, and the House of Commons have done this in all Ages, and is clearly a Court Superiour to any inferiour, and the Judges and Officers of inferiour Courts are under them by Law, and to obey the commands and injunctions of the House of Commons to them, is that which the Law requires, and their Oathes oblige them unto.

*Ob.* Fourthly, He saith, *The Parliament makes an Ordinance to put the* Militia *of the Kingdome into such hands as they please to confide in, without the King, and expressely against his Command.*

Fiftly, *That they possesse themselves of the Navy-Royall, and appoint Admirals, and other Officers by Sea without the King, and use the Ships against the King himselfe.*

Sixtly, *That they take the Castles, Forts and Ports, and places of greatest strength in the Kingdome, and keepe them against the King himselfe, and this will appeare to have been done by designe, for the pretence at first was the preservation of the Kingdome against some forraigne enemies, where none have appeared for many moneths, and such in truth never were, and by meanes hereof, a warre for the Parliament against the King himselfe was raised for the preservation of the King.*

*Sol.* Such as have any knowledge of the Constitution of this Kingdome, which is a Politicke, and not an absolute Monarchy, cannot but discerne the apparant ignorance and malice of this Accuser. In this Kingdome * the people originally agreed Laws, such as they found by experience to be good for them, which were therefore called the Customes of the Kingdome, Customary Law, Common Law, not imposed upon them by Charters of Princes, or by Act of Parliament, but assumed by them upon their experience of the fitnes of them for them, and are not written as Charter and Parliament Laws be; then they chose one from among them to be their King for the defence of their Lawes, bodies and goods, and for these purposes only they gave him power to governe them, and he cannot governe them by any other power or rule *; and for the preservation of

* Sir *John Davies* rep Epist. fol. 2. *Consuetudines regni*

* *Forte sc de leg. Ang.* 8 b. 9 a.

the Lawes againſt the Incroachments of the King and abuſe of his power and truſt, which through humane frailty or evill and wicked Councels and flatteries of Court Paraſites, he might fall or be drawn into; and for the making of ſuch new Laws, as ſhould be requiſite; And for the better preſervation of the peace and ſafety of the Kingdome, they ordained a generall and great Councell of the whole Kingdome, anciently called *Michel Synoth*, *Michel Gemot*, *Witenage Mote*, *magna Curia*, the great Court, commonly called the *Parliament* or the *Common-Councell* of the Kingdome, and inveſted them with all power for the good of the Kingdome and people, and ordained, that the making of new Laws by them for honours ſake, the Kings Royall aſſent ſhould be given unto them; and for this purpoſe they ordained the King ſhould take an Oath to preſerve the Laws and governe by them, and aſſent to ſuch new as his Parliament ſhould find to be for the common good and ſhould tender unto him [a]. And between an abſolute Monarchy and this Politick there are theſe differences.

[a] Remonſtrance of Parl. 2. *May*, 1642 and reply of Parliament to the anſwer thereof.

Soveraign power of Parliamēt 65 &c.

First, In an abſolute Monarchy the Kings perſonall will is the Law, and his perſonall Command to be ſubmitted unto to doe it or to ſuffer willingly what puniſhment he pleaſes to impoſe for not doing it, which is not a power fit for any but God, whoſe wiſdome is infinite, and will infinitely holy and good, who cannot erre, nor do any wrong, and from whom proceeds no command that is not for his peoples good, *Deut.* 6.24. & 10.13. But the Politick Kings perſonall Command or will, if it be not according to the Law ought to be diſobeyed and rejected; and if any ſhall inſtrumentally ſerve ſuch perſonall will to puniſh him that ſo diſobeyes, he that is ſo offended by ſuch officious ſervant of the Kings may have his remedy and recover Recompence for ſuch injury, and the Kings perſonall illegall command ſhall not afford his inſtrument any protection or defence [b]. This is ſo obvious to any verſed in our Laws, or obſerving the ordinary practice of the in ordinary Courts, as nothing almoſt can be more.

[b] Hoſ. 5. 10, 11, 12. God will puniſh obedience to ſuch illegall commands.

Secondly, An abſolute Monarch cannot be controlled in any thing he doth by his Subjects, but a Politick Monarch may by the Laws diſtributed in his Courts be controlled, and his actions, if againſt

Law,

Law, defeated, made void, and nothing more uſuall in our ordinary Courts of Juſtice, then to overthrow his Patents and Grants, and to diſcharge Subjects impriſoned by his Command; and for the Houſes of Parliament or either of them, being extraordinary Courts to overthrow and make void all his illegall Acts that have bin carried on with abuſed power, to the prejudice of the publike, with which the ordinary Courts durſt not meddle, or were by baſe cowardiſe and feare betrayed to comply withall, as in the caſe of *Ship-mony*, *Impoſitions*, *Knighting money*, &c. And if that Politick Monarchy ſhould by wicked Councels be ſeduced to do or attempt things dangerous to the ſafety of the Kingdom, the Parliament ought to complain of them unto him in a mannerly and reſpective and honorable way, and if that take not effect they ought to take care that the Laws and peace and ſafety of the Kingdome be preſerved, not only without, but againſt his perſonall will: So *Bracton Fol.* 34. *If the King ſhall be without a bridle*, that is to ſay, *ſhall not governe according to his Lawes, the great Court of his Parliament ought to bridle him*: And ſo Parliaments have often done, as both our Hiſtories and Records of Parliament abundantly teſtifie*.

Thirdly, An abſolute Monarch chooſes what Councellours he will, but the Politick Monarchs great Councell for the weighty affaires and urgent buſineſſe of his Kingdome is in greateſt part choſen by the people, and the reſt have it annexed to their honours conferred or deſcended, as the Houſe of Peeres, and theſe are not his Councell only, but the Councell of his Kingdom and people.

Fourthly, An abſolute Monarch hath the Forts, Ports and Ships of the Kingdome, to uſe and diſpoſe at his pleaſure. But our Politick Monarch hath none of theſe, but in truſt for the uſe and good of the Kingdome, to take order they be uſed, kept and imployed for the good peace and ſafety of the Kingdome according to Law, and not to the hurt or endangering of the ſafety or peace of the Kingdome, as is clearely manifeſted and proved in the Declaration of Parliament concerning *Hull* 25. *May*, 1642. And in the Reply to the Anſwer thereof, and more particularly and largely in *M. Prynne* touching the *Power of Parliaments*.

* See the book entituled, *The treachery and diſloyalty of Papiſts*, &c.

5. An Abſolute Monarch hath the *Militia* of his Kingdome and Monarch in his owne hand and pleaſure, as in truth, the Lives, Eſtates, and the Whole of his Subjects are. But a Politick Monarch hath no power to compell his Subjects to find Arms, or ſerve with Arms, except they be bound thereunto by Tenure or Contract, and then, but as their Tenures oblige them, and can only compell his Subjects that have Armes, to ſhew them in Muſters before his Commiſſioners, as appeares cleerely in the Declaration of the Parliament concerning the Commiſſions of Array lately Illegally granted, ſo far is our King from having power over the *Militia* of the Kingdome without the conſent of his Parliament.

And there having beene a manifeſt deſigne to alter Religion and the very conſtitution of this our Politick Monarchy, by a Malignant party prevailing with his Majeſty, diſcovered by the wiſedome of the Parliament, and ſo far carried on, as in a manner all was become ſubject to will and power, and the Laws neither a defence of our perſons nor of our rights, and our Judges inforced againſt their Oathes and duties to comply with them; and theſe Vipers finding the whole mould of their helliſh devices to be likely to be broken, and Lawes to be made for the eſtabliſhing of our Liberties and proprieties, and vindicating thereof, and a through Reformation of the Church, in Worſhip, diſcipline and government to be ſet upon and reſolved by the Parliament; they endeavoured to get all the ſtrength of the Kingdome into their hands, and to that end perſwaded his Majeſty to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Ports and Forts, places of ſtrength (as they called them) that they might without feare of being brought to Juſtice for their delinquency by the Parliament, have acceſſe unto him to advance their ſaid deſigne; and ſeduced the Queene out of the Kingdome, and raiſed Armes by open force againſt the Parliament to deſtroy it, and therein all our Religion, Lawes and Liberties, and drive the King to owne and take all thoſe things upon himſelfe, and forged all the falſe colours and gloſſes upon thoſe helliſh proceedings of theirs, that Jeſuited devilliſh wits can invent to deceive the people, and to draw them to become Felons

The Lord *Digbies* advice in his Letter to the King.

and

and deſtroyers of themſelves. Was there not juſt cauſe, and was it not high time for the Parliament, to take care in ſuch caſe, that the Kingdome ſhould be ſet in a Poſture of defence, and that the Ports, Forts, Magazeenes and Ships ſhould be ſecured for the Peace, ſafety and good of the Kingdome? Was this done by deſigne? ſurely if this had not beene done, we had all ere this beene over-runne with tyranny, and we and our Poſterity made ſlaves. When the King refuſes to doe his duty, which by Oath and Office he is bound to doe, and imploys any thing he is intruſted withall by his Kingdome, to the publike prejudice of him, his Poſterity and Kingdome: It is neceſſary, yea juſt and Legall, that the Kingdomes repreſentative, the great Court, the Councell of the Kingdome, ſhould ſeiſe upon, ſecure and uſe the ſame to the publike defence and for the publike good, and prevent the Kings ſatisfying the baſe luſts of a few wicked Councellours and Sycophants, that would raiſe themſelves on the ruines of the Common-wealth. And though many parts of the Kingdome have been waſted and grievouſly ſpoiled by forraigne Enemies, of which there are very many in the Kings Armies, brought from beyond the Seas in great numbers, and though we have felt their heatheniſh and barbarous cruelties, this fellow would perſwade us they never appeared. And though the preſervation of the Kingdome againſt forraigne Enemies were one cauſe of the Parliaments taking the Forts, Ports and Ships into their hands, power and diſpoſition, yet that was not the only cauſe as appeares in their Declaration *.

* Declar. 2. *Martij.* 1641. And the Ordinace for the Militia.

*Ob.* Eightly, he ſaith, *That they who refuſe to joyne in this Warre with the Parliament, or to contribute unto it, they plunder as Malignants and ill affected to the Commonwealth, although he ſees not how it can be leſſe then Treaſon againſt the King to joyne with the Parliament therein.*

*Sol.* We verily beleeve the wayes of the Parliament to be very juſt, and full of reaſon, and Legall, to inforce them that have Eſtates and will not help to quench the publike fire kindled in the Kingdome by the Enemies thereof, nor to preſerve the Parliament which preſerves their Religion, Lawes, Liberties and all from tyranny and violence,,

violence, with ſome ſmall part of it; and to judge them Malignants and Enemies of their Countrey. Did not the Inhabitants of the County Palatine of *Dureſme* when the *Scots* had broken in upon them, to redeeme their Countrey from plunder and ſpoile, compound with the *Scots* for 1600 Markes, and breake open the Cheſt of *William Heburne*, and take 70. pound from him by force in ſuch a neceſſity, for the publike ſafety, to help make up the ſumme, when he would not let them otherwiſe have it: and was not this judged lawfull by all the Judges of the Kings bench in a Writt of Errour brought *Mich.* 14. *Ed.* 2^d^. *Rot.* 60. and a Legall plundering: and other plundring the Parliament never commanded or countenanced. And though this fellow, blinded with Malice, cannot ſee it to be leſſe then Treaſon to joyne with the Parliament in this War, yet ſuch as have any underſtanding in the Laws, know that to joyne with an Inferiour Court in executing the Proceſſe thereof, to bring Delinquents to Juſtice with the greateſt force and power of men, if it cannot be otherwiſe done, is lawfull, though the King joyne with theſe Delinquents in reſiſting the ſame, and endeavour to protect them againſt it; and that it is ſo far from Treaſon, as that it is Treaſon in ſuch as raiſe Force againſt ſuch Proceſſe, and to protect ſuch Delinquents from the Courts of Juſtice, as was judged in Parliament in the cauſe of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Yorke*, *Robert de-Leere* Duke of *Ireland* and others, in the time of *Rich.* 2^d^. and confirmed after by Statute in the firſt Yeare of *Hen.* 4^th^.

*Ob.* Ninethly, he ſaith, *That to all the Commanders and Officers of their Army, the Parliament gives large and even profuſe entertainement and rewardes, but out of our purſes.*

*Sol.* We doe not beleeve, neither can this falſe accuſer prove this charge, that any other entertainements or rewards have been given by the Parliament, then were given by the King before this War, nor ſo much as the King hath given ſithence; and what is here imputed to the Parliament falſely, may juſtly be ſaid of the Kings Army, who have free booty, and we are delivered over as a prey unto them, who make the Proverbe that goes of the Great *Turke* true in *England*,

*land*, That where he sets his foote no grasse will grow; where the Kings Army goes, they take away Plow and Cart-horses, cut the Harnesse, and use all the wicked cruell meanes they can to destroy Tillage, and bring in a famine and the miseries attending it upon us.

Further for the Liberty of our Persons and proprieties of our estates, this Libeller objects that we have little hope of this.

*Ob.* First, *Because the Parliament takes away the Kings Treasure, intercepteth his Revenue, possesseth his Houses of access, and pretend all is for his owne service; and if any attend or assist him, they are condemned as Malignants, Popish, Evill Councellours and enemies to the State.*

*Sol.* To this we must answer for the Parliament; That if they had taken any of the Kings Treasure, the King now upon his Articles of Treaty, wherein he demands satisfaction for all he hath any colour or pretence to demand of them, The King would have demanded it, but he demands no such matter, by which this seemes to us an apparent, grosse, lying imputation, and we cannot judge better of it. But we heare of the Jewels of the Crowne, with which the King is but trusted, and which by our Laws are to goe with the Crowne in Succession, that they are imbesselled and sould away, a dangerous effect of the evill Councells given unto his Majesty. Secondly, for his Revenue, it is true they have seised on some part of that for the necessary maintenance and support of his owne Children, whom he hath left in the power of the Parliament, and to them the same hath been disposed, according to the proportions of allowance his Majesty hath alwayes set out for them, and in no other, and without it they might have starved otherwise, and if they have seized upon any more of his Revenue, it is not considerable in quantity, nor fit they should let him have that to maintaine his War against this Parliament and people, which is his, only for the publike good, protection and safety of his people, and by our Laws ought to be so imployed. Thirdly, for his Majesties Houses, we know none the Parliament hath medled withall but the Castle of *Windsor*, and that is before answered, in what hath been said concerning the Castles and Forts of this Kingdome. Fourthly, for condemning such as attend, or assist

ſiſt him, it is not true, that any one of his attendants, that are bound by ſpeciall ſervice to be with him, have been meerely for that condemned as Malignants, Popiſh, Evill Councellours, or Enemies to the State, but ſuch as having no ſpeciall oeconomicall obligation to attend him, or have aſſiſted him in this unnaturall War, or are Popiſh, or give him wicked and deſtructive Councell, and foment this War, and Viper-like endeavour to rend out the bowells of the Countrey that bare and nouriſhed them, have been and are juſtly accounted Malignants and Enemies to the State, and their courſes evidence them to be ſuch to all indifferent lookers on, or that ſhall heare any true report thereof.

*Ob.* Secondly, he ſaith, *That the Houſe of Commons, have by Meſſages endeavoured to perſwade our Bretheren of* Scotland *to joyne with them in their Rebellion againſt their Soveraigne, and that by Votes of their Houſe.*

*Sol.* If this Libeller had once proved by any reaſon or Law, that any thing done by the Parliament, in oppoſition of the Kings preſent courſes againſt his Parliament and people were Rebellion, he had laid ſome foundation whereupon he might have preſumed to build ſo bold an inference, but neither he nor any other that we have ſeen or heard of, hath as yet been able to doe that: And the Politick conſtitution of the Kingdome is cleerely againſt it, and the like being done by our Brethern the *Scots* againſt his Majeſties like proceedings with them, hath been by his Majeſty and the Parliament, judged and declared to the World, in an Act of Parliament made lately, to deſerve no ſuch Imputation, and that Judgement and Declaration this Libeller himſelfe (if he be an *Engliſh-man*) is a party to; though now he give himſelfe the lye. If our Bretheren the *Scots*, in taking up Armes and coming into this Kingdome ſo armed, and taking the Fort and Port of *New-Caſtle* and *Tinmouth Caſtle* into their poſſeſſion, to maintaine their Lawes, Religion and Liberties againſt the wicked Councellours that induced his Majeſty to endeavour to infring the ſame, were well done, and nothing therein done amiſſe: let all the world judge of the proceedings of our Parliament in the ſame caſe: *De ſimilibus idem iudicium.* And whom have the Parliament

ment called in to their assistance? surely no Forraigners nor Papists as the King seduced by evill Councell hath done, but our Brethren, interessed in the cause as well as we, and of the same Religion.

*Ob.* Thirdly, he saith, *The Parliament did a greater Act of barbarous hostility against the King in his owne Person, and excuses it, by saying it was not their fault, but the Kings and his Councellours, that he went in Person into the Battle, which he did with that Kingly courage as will adde to his honour and their shame whils the World endures, which action of theirs is become odious to God and man, and their excuse for it ridiculous.*

*Sol.* If the King should appeare in Armes, to hinder the Justice of his Inferiour Courts, were it an act of barbarous hostility, to execute the Processe of such Court notwithstanding, and would it argue Kingly courage, or adde to his honour, or the shame of the Court that awarded that Processe? would it not rather argue a foordid distemper unbecomming the meaneſt Subject, and be a blot and reproach to him in all ages? If this be so in case of an Inferiour Court, how can it be an honour to the King, to be found in an Army that resists the Processe of the Highest Court, and Force raised by it, to subdue and bring to Justice the Delinquents against the same and against the Kingdom which that Highest Court represents.

*Ob.* Fourthly, he saith, *That as if the Parliament hath shaken off all subjection, and they become a State independent, they have treated by their agents with Forraigne States; Such an usurpation upon Soveraignty, was never yet attempted in this Kingdome.*

*Sol.* We conceive, that if the King desert his Parliament, his Parliament without him may doe any thing, yea every thing conducing to the good and safety of the Kingdome, and Parliaments have done greater matters then this in such case, as any versed in the Histories and Records of this Kingdome well knowes. None so bould in asserting lyes as this fellow; certainely upon a Machivilian confidence, that men will beleeve rather then examine his falshoods: besides his partiality is manifest; That he mentions not the Kings usurpation upon the Soveraigne power of the Three Estates from which his power is derived, and to which it is subordinate, and the immediate

iſſues thereof, our Lawes, even from the beginning of his Reigne hitherto, being ſeduced and miſguided thereunto by wicked Councells, in good part ſet forth in the Parliaments Declaration of the State of this Kingdome; the miſchiefes and miſeries whereof we have abundantly felt.

*Ob.* Fiftly, he ſaith, *The Houſe of Commons command their Orders, and Ordinances, and Declarations to be printed and publiſhed with priviledge, but if any thing come from the King, which may truly inform and diſabuſe the people, they forbid it to be publiſhed, and commit them to priſon that doe it.*

*Sol.* The Houſe of Commons in ſuch Commands, doe nothing but what is juſt and fit, being their own Declarations and Acts; and for the things that come from the King, we find they come to abuſe the people; witneſſe the *Mercurius Aulicus*, The Relation of *Keinton* Battell, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* his Letters to Forraigne States, ſtuft with the groſſeſt and moſt apparent lyes that ever were heard, *As that Colonell* Haſtings *came to* Lichfield *and drave thence the Parliaments Forces, and reſcued the Earle of* Cheſterfield, *when the Parliaments Forces yet poſſeſſe the Towne, and the Earle is the Parliaments priſoner: And that the Lord* Brooke *was Armed, &c. throughout with Armour of proofe when hee was ſlaine by a ſhot in the eye*, and upon examination of thoſe that were preſent with him at his death, it appeares that he had no Armour on at all but his Head-peece: *That M.* Marſhall *the Divine was madde, and cried out he was damned, and M.* Caſe *adminiſtring the Sacrament, invited ſuch only as had contributed to the Parliament*, and ſuch dung-hill ſtuffe, ſavouring of the ſpirit of him that was a lyer from the beginning; *by their fruits you may know them.* I forbeare to inſtance in many others as groundleſſe as theſe. And who doe truly informe and diſabuſe the people: theſe men that publiſh theſe things for the King, and under his Name, and in abuſe thereof, or the Parliament, which hath ſet forth nothing, but what upon full examination is diſcovered, let the World judge. And we are confident, the Parliament hath not impriſoned any for printing any thing but what was diſhonourable to his Majeſty, and falſe and ſcandalous to the Higheſt Court, and that is Legall, reaſonable and neceſſary.

*Ob.* Sixtly,

*Ob.* Sixtly, he ſaith, *That the Moneyes advanced by gift or adventure, or Act of Parliament, and Souldiers preſſed for* Ireland *to reduce the Rebells there, the Parliament hath diverted to maintaine an unnaturall Warre in* England, *ſo they doe viſibly loſe the Kingdome of* Ireland, *that they may be the better inabled to loſe the Kingdome of* England *alſo.*

*Sol.* The War in our Kingdome, we conceive is unnaturall in the offending party that firſt raiſed Armes, and not in the party defending, or Parliament, to defend againſt unjuſt violence as the Parliament doth is naturall, to purſue and endeavour by force to bring Delinquents to Juſtice, that reſiſt the Proceſſe of the Courts of Juſtice, as the Parliament doth, is naturall and juſt by all Laws of God, nature, Nations, and our Municipall Laws, and the maintenance of War is of like nature as the War is. And if any perſon or thing deſigned for *Ireland* hath been taken and uſed by the Parliament, it hath been for a time only, and that alſo inforced by this unnaturall War, to ſave *England*, without which *Ireland* cannot ſtand, and is repaid and returned to the uſe of *Ireland* againe with great advantage, as by the accounts thereof cleerely appeares. And who loſes *Ireland*? The Parliament, which continually ſends them all the aide and help they can or can procure, or the Evill Councellours about the King, that ſeduce him to take away the Horſes and other things prepared for the Traine of Artillery ſent thitherward by the Parliament, and divers loades of Cloathes and ſuites of Apparrell bought by the Parliament, and ſent unto the Souldiers there, for which no colour of ſatisfaction hath been given to poore *Ireland* to this day? And who alſo withheld the King from giving his Royall aſſent to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, thereby as much as in them lyes, to hinder all defence of *Ireland*, and by conſequence, laying open all wayes of ſupplying the Rebells there, with all neceſſaries for the War, and for their ſupport from Forraigne parts? And who alſo put the King upon this unnaturall War, whereby *England* is ſpoiled and deſtroyed, and the Parliament diſabled to raiſe meanes to preſerve and defend that Kingdome? Who have drawne over the Commanders imployed by

the Parliament againſt the Rebells of *Ireland*, to foment this unnaturall War, and to devoure us, and lay waſt this goodly Kingdome, as Captaine *Boteler*, and 14 other with him lately, and others at other times formerly.

*Ob.* Seventhly, he ſaith, *That the Houſe of Commons have ſhewed themſelves averſe from peace, that they have Voted there ſhall be no Ceſſation of Armes, leaſt by a free Treaty a peace might enſue.*

*Sol.* Our Bretheren of *Scotland* did treat for peace without ſuch Ceſſation, and with good ſucceſſe. And though the Houſe of Commons did once Vote there ſhould be no Ceſſation of Armes, otherwiſe then in order to a disbanding, in their wiſedomes fore-ſeeing that it would be abuſed, and prove full of ſnares to the Commonwealth, as it hath ſince proved; yet through our importunity, they were induced to give way to a Ceſſation of Armes in order to the Treaty alſo. And now we find by experience, the Reſolution which when they were their own, and not drawn aſide by our importunity, and by a deſire to hold a concurrence with the Lords, they tooke up was grounded upon wiſedome, and cleerely the beſt, for after much time ſpent about it, both the King and they are faine to give it over, and goe on upon the Treaty without it. And we now alſo diſcerne, that they deſired the beſt way for us at firſt, and which would bring on an effectuall Ceſſation and full peace, namely that all Armies ſhould be disbanded, and that that ſhould be the firſt of their Propoſitions, concluded and executed before any other. And to facilitate the way thereof, they have yeelded ſo fully to the Kings deſire in his firſt Propoſition about his Revenue, Navy, Fortes and Portes, as can with any colour of reaſon be deſired, to reſigne them all unto him, onely deſiring, That ſeeing himſelfe cannot in Perſon mannage them, he will put them into ſuch hands to be named by himſelfe as his people may confide in. This ſo evidently diſcovers and ſatisfies us of their deſire of peace, as nothing can doe it more fully, more cleerly, and after ſuch disbanding, the Treaty may goe on concerning all other differences between the King and his great and faithfull Councell in a Parliamentary way, when the Kingdome ſhall be eaſed of the intol-

lerable

lerable burdens of the many great Armies that are now on foot in the bowels of it.

*Ob.* And this Libeller further bequarrels the carriage of the Parliament towards the Subject, Thus, first he saith, *They have made an Ordinance that the twentith part of mens estates must be paid towards the maintenance of this warre, and appointeth who shall value it, and their Collectours to distraine for it, and sell the distresse and imprison the person that will not pay it, if no distresse can be found, and their families banished from their habitation.*

*Sol.* First, This is nothing to what is done in the Kings Name, by them that seduce him by their evill Councell, who inforce many Subjects unto contribution, farre surmounting this, and plunder and destroy them if they pay it not, and take from others all they have without measure or mercy, and drive them from their habitation, that if the places under the Parliaments protection were not a refuge unto them, they must utterly perish with all that depend upon them, and seise upon the persons of others that never opposed them, and use them with more cruelty and inhumanity then they do their beasts, meerly to make a bragging shew of a great victory by many prisoners, and all against the *Knowne Lawes*, to which his Majesty hath given quickning by his personall Royall assent.

Secondly, The Ordinance mentioned is by this lying tongue that cannot speak truth slandered, as if it inforced the paiment of the twentith part, when in truth it binds the Assessours not to ascend in their Assessment above the twentith part of any mans estate, leaving them power to descend to a lesse proportion, and no man that loves his Country will sticke upon so small a contribution for the maintenance of our Religion and Liberties against the hand of violence and foot of pride, lift up by the Cavaleers to the destruction of them all.

*Ob.* Secondly, He saith, *That least the Parliament should not have the colour of Law sufficient to blind the world, they have lately made an Ordinance for the Inhabitantes of* Northampton, Rutland, Derby, *&c. to pay and to be assessed by Assessours named in their Act, in imitation of the Statute lately made for the 400000li. and this as is probable shall be extended to the whole Kingdome.*

*Sol.*

*Sol.* We conceive it very fit, juſt and legall, that all ſhould contribute to the ſaving of all. It is neceſſary the power and priviledges of Parliament be maintained, or elſe farewell Religion, Liberty, property and all, and we ſhall fall into the like miſery as the Subjects of *France* have ever been, ſithence their Kings over-powred their Parliaments, and deſtroyed them, which *Forteſcue* in the 35. Chapter of his booke of our Laws, ſets forth. And the Parliament for the preſervation of the Kingdome may doe, and have done greater matters then this, as our Hiſtories plainly ſhew, and if any be ſo impious as not to be willing to ſave their country, it is fit they ſhould be enforced unto it.

*Ob.* Thirdly, He ſaith, *The Parliament hath yet a ſhorter and a ſurer way, where they underſtand there is any mony, plate or goods to be had, they ſend a party of Horſe or other ſtrength to fetch it, as out of an Enemies Country, becauſe the owners are good Subjects to the King, or they ſuſpect them to be ſo, and that alone is crime ſufficient to apprehend them, or judge them, or take execution upon them, and all this without the Ceremony of Law by their abſolute and omnipotent power, which cannot erre.*

*Sol.* If this lyar had inſtanced in any particular, it would have appeared, that ſuch as have been ſo uſed have been ſo farre off from being good Subjects, as they have bin manifeſt Traitors to their country, and fomenters of the preſent unnaturall war: and if any be found and judged to be ſo in the higheſt Court, by that Court it may be legally done without other Ceremonies of Law, neceſſary in inferiour Courts. And this power is and ever hath been in the Parliament, when the thing is neceſſary for the publike Defence and ſafety of the Kingdome, and ſo judged by them, whoſe Repreſentatives and truſtees they are, in caſe where the King is ſeduced by wicked counſels to endeavour the deſtruction of the Parliament, which hath bin the deſigne of ſuch Counſellours ever ſince the King came to the Crowne, as clearely appears to every judicious obſerver of the times and proceedings at Court. Others of inferiour power have done it, as we ſee in *Heburnes* caſe before, and judged lawfull, but that the

Parliament

Parliament cannot erre, was never challenged, and is here maliciously and wickedly added, to render the Parliament odious, which is the main scope of this Libeller; and for their Omnipotency, though it hath been a Proverbe among the learned of our Lawes, that *Parliamentum omnia potest*, yet the Parliament hath never challenged any power, but for the publike good of the Kingdome.

*Ob.* Fourthly, He saith, *The House of Commons discharges Apprentices and Servants from their Masters service without the consent of their Masters and Dames, and either perswades or compels them to serve in their army against the King.*

*Sol.* First, It is false that the Parliament hath compelled any to serve them in their Army. Secondly, It is false that the House of Commons alone have done this, as appeares by the *Ordinance 7°. November*, 1642. And what the Parliament hath perswaded in this is very just; the publike Relation of Apprentices to the safety of the Kingdom, being more to be respected then their private Relation to their Masters and Dames, who partake in the publike benefit of the service in the warre, which tends to the saving of them, and all they have among the rest interessed with them in the publike safetie.

*Ob.* Fifthly, He saith, *That the Parliament hath imprisoned some for Petitioning, and some for intending to Petition unto them, as if that alone were a crime, if the matter of the Petition doe not flatter them in their present courses.*

*Sol.* We know they have been so farre from accounting Petitioning a crime, as they have received multitudes of Petitions from all parts of the Kingdome. This therefore is a false imputation, but when the matter of the Petition hath been seditious, and tending to the disturbance of the publike peace, and stuft with unjust aspersions of the Parliament, in such case only they have imprisoned the Petitioners, as in all just and necessary

*Ob.* Sixthly, He averres, *That the House of Commons have imprisoned others for Petitioning and intending to Petition to the King, and*

*yet the way is open to Heaven, and GOD will heare in his good time.*

*Sol.* They never imprisoned any for *Petitioning* the *King*, except the matter were, as is above-said, to foment division between the King and his people. And such a malicious Libellers petitioning Heaven, will find no accepeance, for *the prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord:* And if such Petitions be offered to Heaven, as have been to the Parliament or to his Majesty by such spirits as this Malignant is possessed withall, God will imprison such Petitioners, except they repent in another-gesse prison then the Parliament casts them into.

And concerning priviledges of Parliament this Libeller proceeds thus.

*Ob.* First, *That the Parliament forbids us to dispute their Priviledges, and assumes the sole judgement of them, when in former ages they might be and have been judged by the Lawes of the Kingdome, but he admits the Parliament to be Iudges of offences committed by their owne members against the Houses, and of the election of their members.*

*Sol.* We know and have found by late experience, that when any inferiour Court hath presumed to dispute and determine the priviledges of the Parliament, which is the highest Court, they have been punished for it by the Parliament. Have the inferiour Courts of *London* or other places, been ever admitted to judge or determine the priviledges of the *Kings-Bench* or *Common-pleas*, we cannot conceive it to be reasonable or legall; but this Libellers malice hath so blinded him, as he raves like a mad-man against the Parliament, publishing any thing to their prejudice, though never so much against clear reason and common experience.

*Ob.* Secondly, He saith, *Some of the members of the House of Commons have bin committed or put out of the House for speaking freely against the sense of the House, or rather of some members thereof.*

*Sol.* This we are very confident is a loud lie, and if he had instanced in any one, it would have bin as manifest as the Sun, when it shines out in its might and strength to be a lie. And it is altogether impossible

bable that the whole House should deale so with any member for speaking against the sense of some members thereof.

*Ob.* Thirdly, He saith, *The priviledges of the House of Commons were never challenged till now, to extend to any member which should commit treason or fellony. But they have now declared, that no member of the House, nor other imployed by them shall be questioned for Treason but in Parliament; or at least by leave of the House.*

*Sol.* It is true, no priviledge of Parliament doth extend, or was ever challenged to extend to exempt any member of Parliament from being questioned for treason or felony, but it hath bin ever challenged, and is an undoubted priviledge of Parliament, that none of their members upon a bare accusation of these crimes should be left to a legall tryall, before the House, wherof he is a member, be satisfied that there is good ground for the accusation; upon a meere accusation no man is to loose his priviledge of Parliament, but upon reall cause. If to accuse be sufficient, who shall be innocent? and if the Law were otherwise, every man that speaks his mind legally and according to his conscience, and the trust reposed in him by his Country for the publike good, if the King like it not he shall be presently accused of treason by the Attorney Generall, and thereby taken out of the House, and so freedome of speech in Parliament will be utterly lost, and all members of Parliament that are good Patriots and stand for our Religion, Lawes, or Liberties may be taken out of the Parliament, and none left there, but such as will serve the times, and humour the evill Councellours about the King, a high-way to undermine and blow up, not as the *Papists* intended in the Powder-plot one *P*arliament, but all *P*arliaments, and overthrow the Kingdome and reduce us and our posterity to slavery and misery without remedy, for by the same reason, as one man shall loose his priviledge upon such an accusation, twenty, an hundred and more may, and then farewell the liberty and happinesse of *England*.

The House of Commons have ever proceeded justly and impartially against their owne members, where there hath been reall cause to put them out of the House, and deliver them over to the hand of

Justice; but if they should doe it upon a meere accusation, yet such an accusation as is ashamed to be tryed (as the late accusation of the five Members, which would never endure the mentioning of an examination.) Certainly they should doe apparant injury and injustice and betray the trust committed to them, and they that had a hand in this more then Gun-powder plot, counselling and endeavouring by that devilliſh deſigne againſt the Parliament will remain infamous to all posterity.

*Ob.* Fourthly, He saith, *The House of Commons have made a close Committee, wherein a very few members of that House are privy to their counsels, and what those few conclude is summarily reported to the House, and that taken up upon trust by an implicite faith of all the rest.*

*Sol.* This we know to be false in the whole, and in every part of it.

First, The House of Commons alone hath not made any such Committee, but that Committee is made by common consent of both Houses, and consists of Members of both Houses, and is necessary for the preparing of busineſſe for the House, and for the quicker dispatch of the affaires of the House, as all know that understand any thing of the proceedings of Parliament.

Secondly, It consisteth not of a very few, but of a competent and fit number for such a Committee.

Thirdly, Not only the members of the House of Commons, but of the House of Peers also are privy to the councels thereof.

Fourthly, The reports from that Committee to either or both Houses are as of other Committees, nothing in it taken upon implicit faith, but as every member of either House is at liberty to be at the councels, debates and results thereof, if they please, so the particular reasons, warrants and grounds of the Report, are by the Reporter clearly opened, and if not, every member may require an account therof before he give his Vote.

*Ob.* Fiftly, He saith, *Many of the present members of the House of Commons have had their elections questioned, and in two years space have had no leisure to determine them, if they incline to the positions they lay down, least they should loose such from their party.*

*Sol.* If

*Sol.* If this Libeller had instanced in particulars, an answer might be particularly given thereunto, and he convinced of his forged accusation, but to a generall charge we can say thus much in generall, That all questions concerning election that have been brought to the House from the Committee of Elections have bin presently upon the Report thereof determined. But if the Committee hath not had leisure to sit or opportunity to report, because of the great obstructions that have been by the enemies of the publike good, cast in the way of the Parliaments proceedings, and the House of Commons enforced to spend all their time to resist, and to endeavour to remoove the same, it is not the fault of the Parliament, but the fault of these men of *Belial* that are risen up against the Parliament and Kingdom.

*Ob.* Sixtly, He saith, *That when a matter of importance hath beene in debate and put to the question, and thereupon determined, the same question hath been again resumed at another time better prepared for the purpose, and determined quite contrary.*

*Sol.* First, That any such question hath bin received after determination, that hath not come into the House upon some new occasion inforcing it, we doe not believe to be true, but that a great Councell upon debate determines one time one way, and upon better preparation and second thoughts, when it is by some emergent occasion brought againe into debate, conclude another way, and quite contrary is no newes, it being both the priviledge and property of wise men to change their opinions upon better, further and more mature deliberation and consideration, being better prepared for it, then they could be at first, when it was suddenly and unexpectedly moved, debated and determined.

Seventhly, he quarrells at the Statute by which this Parliament is fixed so as it cannot be dissolved without common consent of the King and both Houses, which in truth is a Statute onely declaratory of the Common Law of this Kingdome, and no Parliament neither can or ought to be dissolved, till they have redressed all the grievances of the Kingdome. This wretch in this discovers a heart full of poyson against the publike good, that like the raging Sea ca-

ſteth out nothing but mire and dirt, and foming out his own ſhame. A Law made by the Supreame power of this Kingdome, the Three Eſtates, cannot eſcape the virulent tongue of this *Rabſhekah*, If this Law may be ſpoken againſt or queſtioned, all others may. And whereas the King in almoſt all his Declarations, proteſts he likes well of, and will obſerve and maintaine all the Laws made this Parliament, this Villaine forbeares not to ſay he was over-reached in it.

Laſtly, he reckons up the miſeries of a Civill War, and ſaith, that the Parliament is the cauſe of it, when all men that have obſerved the Hiſtory and Acts of theſe times, knowes well at whoſe doores that ſin and miſchiefe lies, and whom it calls Father.

And he deſires amendment of what is amiſſe, without plucking up the foundation of government intended to be pluckt up, except he meane the government by that Officer whom we call Biſhop, which never appeared in holy Scriptures, but in the perſon of *Diotrephes*, which the Parliament deſires to remove, that the ſame may be changed into the government of the Church by Presbiters, the Officers and Biſhops which the Scriptures approve of, and give the government of the Church unto, we know not what he meanes by foundation of government, and we (as we conceive all good men alſo doe) doe for our parts deſire to have a Church government according to the will of God expreſſed in his word, and not according to the patterne of his profeſſed Arch-Enemy expreſſed in the Popiſh Hierarchy.

And we are confident, that the Parliament had long before this by their judgement and wiſdome, provided for and ſetled our Religion according to God, which is the true and indeed onely honour of Religion, and the greateſt ſatisfaction to our conſciences, if they might have had their wills, and if it were obtained, would procure mercy from Heaven, that the Sword ſhould be ſheathed and devoure no more fleſh, and our Lives, Eſtates and Liberties be preſerved, which are onely ſecured by our walking according to the Rule, the only way in which the Angells will attend us, and all happineſſe flow upon us and our Poſterity for ever.

And as for burying of by-paſt Actions in an act of Oblivion, we

are

are confident the Parliament neither needs nor desires it for themselves nor their friends, being conscious of nothing done by them for which they have cause to feare the hand of Justice, and if the honourable peace which they now so sincerely seeke and desire shall not be obtained, we protest to all the world, that with the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes and of all we can call ours, we will endeavour to vindicate them and our selves, from the barbarous, inhumane, and more then Turkish and Heathenish Tyrannies of the Evill Counsellours about the King, which seduce him, and their Cavaleres, and we doubt not but our God in whom we trust, who hath wrought great salvations and done great things for us since the beginning of this unhappy War, will be our guide and our strength, and fight our battells, and goe before us as a devouring fire to consume the enemies of our Peace and his Glory, and perfect the worke of Reformation so happily begun and wonderfully carried on hitherto in spight of all opposition and in the sight of them that hate him. *Amen.*

FINIS.

FINIS.

AN

# ORDINANCE

OF THE

## LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in Parliament.

With the names of the Knights and Gentlemen entrusted in every County to bring up a speedy account of the Weekely Assessement, and to returne the names of all such persons as refuse to pay.

Also the Instructions agreed upon by both Houses, for the said Gentlemen appointed for this service.

---

Die Mercurii, 3 Maii. 1643.

*ORdered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance and Instructions shall be forthwith printed and published.*

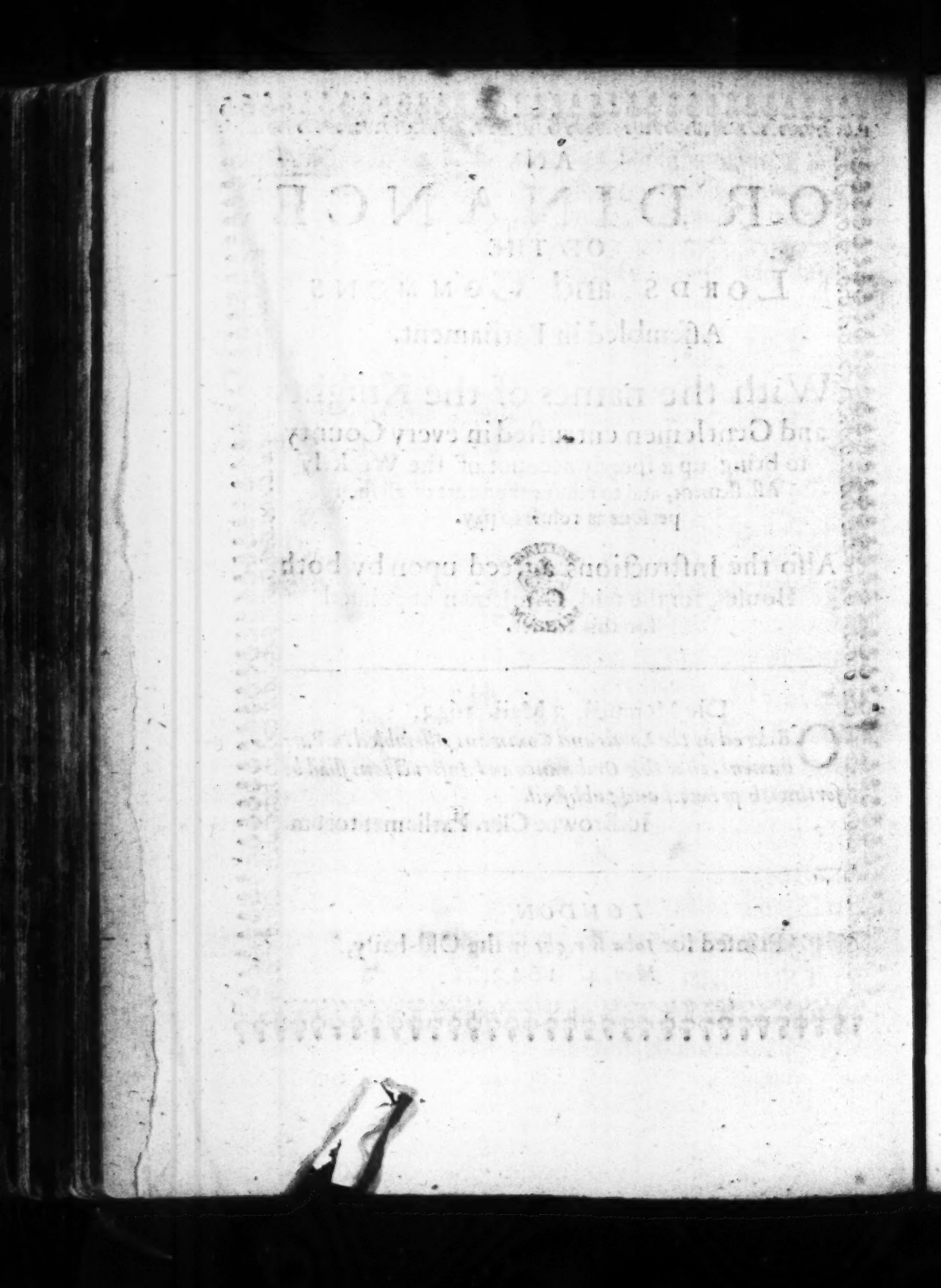
Io. Browne Cler. Parliamentorum.

---

*LONDON*,

Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-baily,

*May* 4. 1643.



*Die Mercurii, 3 Maii.* 1643.

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, finding that the Moneys rated upon the Counties by the Ordinance for the weekly Assessment are not returned up with such expedition as the emergent and present necessities doe require, have thought fit, and doe order and ordaine that two or more Persons of trust shall be, and are hereby appointed for each County to take especiall care herein, and to put in execution with all industry and fidelity within their respective Counties: for which they are appointed these instructions hereunto annexed: And shall have such Allowance towards their Charges and Expences in this Service as upon their respective Accounts shall be thought fit by the Lords and Commons, viz. For the County of Middlesex Sir John

Francklyn Knight, and Sir Edward Barkeham Knight and Baronet: for the County of Kent Sir Henry Heyman, Knight and Baronet, and Thomas Blunt Esq. for the City & County of Canterbury Sir Edward Masters, and Sir William Man, Knights: for the County of Essex, Sir Richard Everard Baronet, and Sir Thomas Honeywood Knight: for the County of Surrey, Sir John Dingley Knight, & John Goodwin, Esq. for the Borough of Southwarke, with the Parishes of Rotherhith, Newington-buts, & Lambeth, John White Esq. and Cornelius Cooke: for the County of Sussex, Herbert Morley, & John Baker, Esqrs. for the county of Hertford, Sir Tho. Dacres Knight, & John Heydon, Esq. for the county of Cambridge, Tho. Symons, Esqu. & Thomas Thompson, Gent. for the Isle of Ely, Sir Myles Sands, Knight, & William Fisher, Esq. for the county of Suffolke, Sir Wil. Spring Barro. & Wil. Hevenningham, Esqu. for the county of Norfolke, and the city and county of Norwich, Sir John Hubbert Barronet, Samuel Smith, & Thomas Toll, Esquires: for the county of Huntington, Onslow Winch, & Tirrill Josselin, Esquires: for the county of Buckingham, Henry Bulstrode, & Thomas Tirrill,

Esquires:

Esquires: for the county of Bedford, Sir John Burgon Barronet, & Samuel Brown, Esq. for the county of Southampton, Richard Whitehead, & Richard Norton, Esquires: for the Isle of Wight, Sir Henry Worsely, Bar. & John Buckley Esq. for the county of Northampton, Sir Richard Samuel Knight, and John Crew Esq. for the county of Berks, Sir Francis Knoles the younger, & Tanfield Vachell, Esq. for the county of Wilts, Sir Edw. Hungerford Knight, & Edward Goddard of Upham, Esq. for the county of Somerset, Sir John Horner Knight, & Alexander Popham, Esq. for the county of Dorset, Sir Walter Earle Knight, & John Fitz-James, of Lewsam Esq. for the county of Warwick, Godfrey Boswell, & George Abbots, Esquires: for the county of Glocester, and the county of the city of Glocester, Sir Robert Cooke Knight, Edward Stevens, & Thomas Purry, Esquires: for the city of Westminster, Sir Robert Pye Knight, and John Glynne, Esq.

# Die Mercurii. 3. Maii 1643.

*Instructions agreed upon by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the Gentlemen that are appointed by the Ordinance hereunto annexed, to take care within their respective Counties, of the speedy payment of the weekly Assessement, and other payments for the Armie.*

I.

YOu shall forthwith call all the Collectors within the severall Divisions before you, and strictly examine what Monies have been already collected by vertue of the Ordinance for the weekly Assessement, and cause all such Monies to be with all possible speed safely sent up to the Treasurer of the Army, according to the said Ordinance.

II. Such Moneys as are due, or shall grow due, and not yet collected, you shall cause to be speedily leavied, and sent up, as aforesaid.

III. Where you shall finde the said Ordinance hath not been put in execution, you shall informe your selves who be the Committees of that Division, and through whose default such neglect

neglect hath hapned, and certifie their names to the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

IV. You ſhall cauſe ſuch Committees as are next to the place where ſuch negligence or defect ſhall be found, forthwith to put the ſaid Ordinance in execution, and to make their Aſſeſſements for the whole three moneths mentioned in the ſaid Ordinance, and to appoint Collectors with all ſpeed to collect the ſame according to the ſaid Ordinance.

V. You ſhall enquire whether the Aſſeſſors thorowout the ſaid County have made their Aſſeſſements according to the ſaid Ordinance; and ſuch as you ſhall finde to have been negligent, or otherwiſe faulty therein, you ſhall cauſe them to be fined by the Committees, according to the power given by the ſaid Ordinance, and their Fines to be collected and returned, together with the reſt of the Money aſſeſſed.

VI. You ſhall likewiſe cauſe all Collectors, who have neglected their duties in collecting the ſaid Aſſeſſements, to be fined according to the ſaid Ordinance, and their Fines to be leavied and returned accordingly.

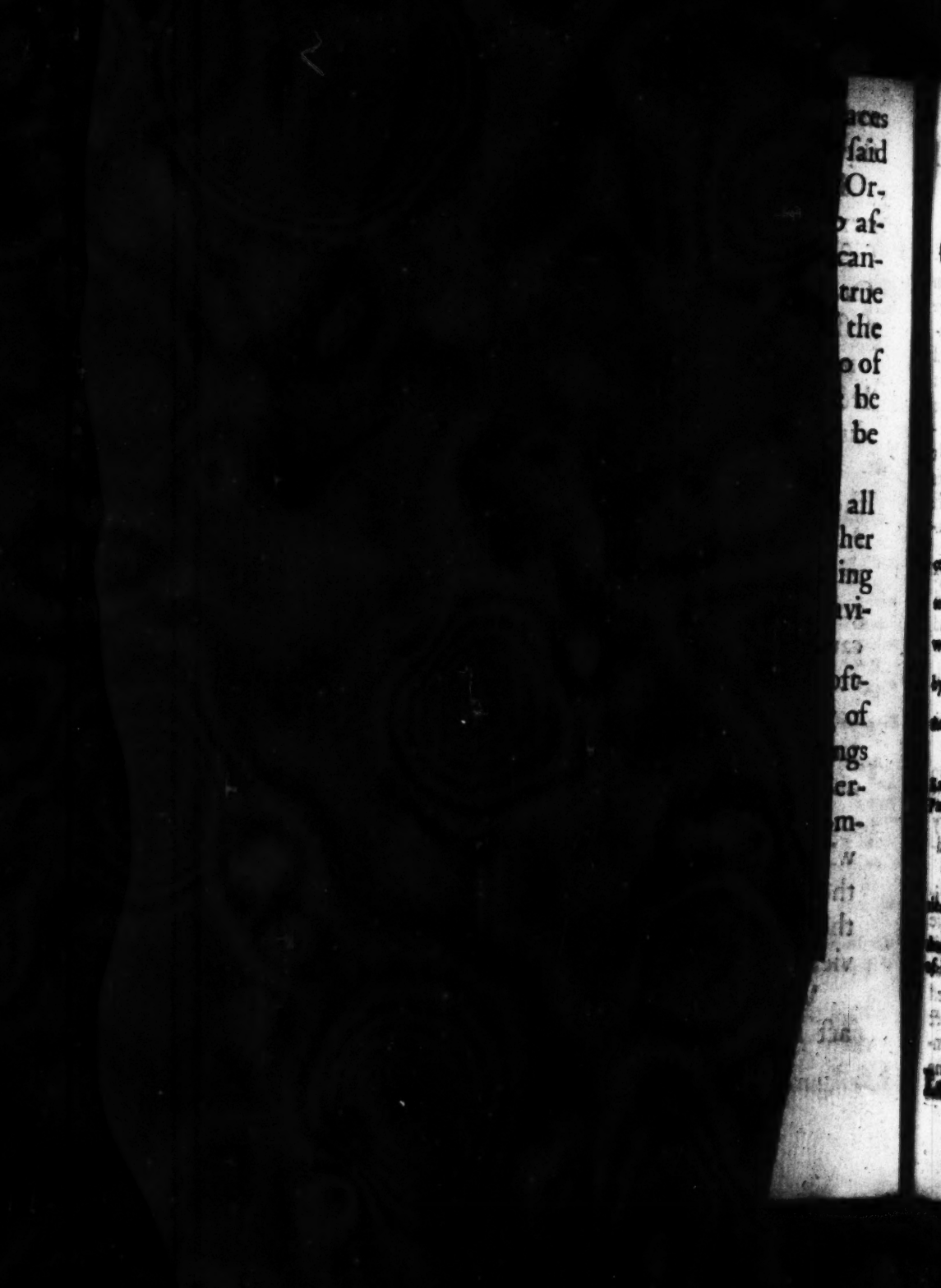
VII. You ſhall take care that a true and exact Liſt be forthwith made in Parchment faire written

written, of the names and ſirnames, and places of abode of all ſuch perſons within the ſaid County, as are aſſeſſed by vertue of the ſaid Ordinance, and refuſe to pay the Moneyes ſo aſſeſſed upon them, and whoſe Moneys you cannot leavie by diſtreſſe, and to returne a true Copie of the ſaid Liſt under the hands of the ſaid Committees, or under the hands of two of them at the leaſt, that ſuch further courſe be taken with ſuch perſons ſo liſted as ſhall be thought fit.

VIII. You ſhall take ſpeciall care that all Moneys hereafter to be leavied by any other Ordinance of Parliament for the maintaining of the ſaid Armie, be duly and ſpeedily leavied accordingly.

IX. You ſhall once every weeke, and oftner if it may be, give an account in writing of your proceedings herein, and of all other things you ſhall conceive advantagious for this Service, to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

FINIS.



K. P. P. London Special Stamp of Paul's

Number 25 43.

# A CONTINUATION

## Of certaine remarkable paſſages informed to both Houſes of PARLIAMENT, and otherwiſe from divers parts of the Kingdom from Thurſday 27th. of *April*, to Thurſday the fourth of *May*. 1643.

Concerning theſe particulars, *viz.*

1. An exact relation of all the buſineſſe of taking of Reading.
2. A true relation of the diſcovery of the treachery of Captaine *Brown-Boſwell*, concerning Scarborough Caſtle.
3. A true relation from Blechington of Sir *William Waller* drawing to the Iſle of Wight to joyne with him againſt the Kings Army.
4. A true relation of two Ships driven into Potts-mouth, that were going for *Ireland*, with much ammunition.
5. A relation of taking from a Newter, my Lord *Dainum*, 500. and a promiſe to pay 2000 by the Forces in *Derby*.
6. An exact relation of Collonell Cromwells proceedings in Cambridge ſhire to ſecure that County from the plundering of the Cavaliers.
7. A certaine relation of my Lord of New-Caſtles deſeate by my Lord *Fairfax*.
8. A true relation of the Apprehenſion of Mr. *Aſton* a great Papiſt that joyned with the Earle of *Derby*, againſt the Mancheſterians by Sir *George Booth*, and is to be ſent up to the Parliament.
9. A relation of the deſeate of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, by Serjeant Major *Chidley*.
10. A report concerning the taking the Lord *Digby*, and Capt. Leg, by Sir *John Gell* forces
11. Certaine relation of the ſtate of things, at the Iſle of Guerſie.
12. Of the killing of Collonell *Butler*, a great Commander of the Kings, that was carried away in the Kings owne Coach.
13. A relation of the ſuppoſitions of the Malignants of Suſſex, Hamſhire, and other Shires, how they labour to raiſe Armes againſt the Parliament, with divers other remarkable paſſages of high conſequence.

London printed for F. Lich. and Frances Coll. in the old Baylie. 1643.

# A continuation of certain ſpeciall and remarkable paſſages informed to both Houſes of Parliament.

HIS Majeſty with about ſix thouſand horſe, foot and Dragoones marched from Oxford to Cauſey Parke to the Lord *Cravens* houſe, from whence his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex* deſiring a parley touching *Reading*, his Lord-ſhip being nobly minded, and tender of the ſhedding more blood, obeyed his Majeſties command, and conſented to a parley, upon the ordinary conditions uſed in warres that a ceſſation of arms or any acts of hoſtility on either ſide ſhould be refrained during the ſame, but contrary to the lawes of armes during the treaty was proviſions made for furniſhing the Kings Army and two waggons laden with ammunition brought into the ſame, upon which his Excellency very ſenſible of ſuch inconveniences that ſucceed ſuch dilatory pretences and conceaving the ſame was but for the better advantage of the malignant party, broke off the treaty and purſued his enterprize againſt *Reading*.

After debate of this matter, the houſe fell into Conſultation of a Meſſage from the Lord Generall touching the ſurrendring of Redding, and returned his Lordſhip anſwer that he might vſe his owne pleaſure, concerningit, and would confirme the conditions his Exellency ſhould think meete to Accept of vpon which reſolutions his Lordſhipp agreed upon theſe particulars following;

That every man ſhould ſafely be permitted to depart the towne with their families bagg and baggage.

That the Kings forces in the towne conſiſting of about 3000 foote and 400 horſe ſhould March awaywith their Armes and was like habiliaments without any interruption of his Lordſhips Army that they ſhould be permitted to carry with them foure Drakes and to leave behinde them eight peeces of Ordnance.

That the common ſouldiers ſhould have alowed them for the carriage their baggage twenti fiue waggons and have ſafe convay three miles beyond there Quarters, Provided no papiſt goods be conveyed therein, Alſo Sr. Arter Aſton Governor Col. Feilding Generall of the foot Col. Sherley, and Colonell Dalaware, lately come from the armie of the States in Germany, to be imployed in the Kings ſervice againſt the Parliament, were permitted with ſafe conduct to depart the towne, the Governour was carried in a horſe-litter ſorely wounded, and tis conceaved mortally, The horſe and foote ſlaine and taken during

the whole time of this ſeige on the kings ſide; horſe foure-ſcore taken foote forty, ſlaine horſe and foote three hundred.

After which his Excellency was informed that his Majeſties Army was marching toward his forces to fall upon his Arreare, upon which his Lord-ſhip ſent forth eight hundred horſe, to oppoſe their deſigne, who in their march apprehended three of the ſeaven gentlemen that intercepred the poſt upon Saliſbury plaine, and tooke from him a packet of letters which they carried to *Oxford* to the King, there names were Mr *Bowles* his ſons neere Saliſbury and Mr. Chapman, who were brought to Redding where new they remaine in cuſtody till they ſhall be proceeded againſt.

By Letters from a Knight now in Cuſtody in Windſor touching the late conſpiracy, to Collonell *Den*, it was deſired the ſaid Knight with ſome other gentleman in hold for the ſame offence, might be reſtored to there former liberty for that there healths by their Impriſonment were then impaired, the ſaid letters were ſent to the Houſe, by the ſaid Collonell for there reſolution therein, the ſame by them being denied.

Information, was given to the Parliament that divers Malignant perſons in and about the City of *London*, do give forth ſpeeches about the City that divers Countryes, of this kingdom as *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Wiltſhire*, are raiſing for the king, and deſert the Parliament indeavoring thereby, to Alienate the Citizens affections aſmuch as in them lye, from the Parliaments proceedings upon which it was ordered that ſpeciall care ſhould be taken of ſuch perſons, and that it ſhould be lawfull for any man that heareth ſuch Aſpertions to lay hold and apprehend ſuch offenders and bring them before the Officers to receive puniſhment according to there demerits.

By a letter from Cheſhire from Maſter *Aſton* of Anſton who was the firſt that Ioyned with the Earl of *Darby* againſt the Mancheſterians and hath done much miſcheife againſt the *Proteſtants*: himſelfe being a *Papiſt* and ſo long time hath bine; latly plundered the houſe of one Maſter *Booth*, and his apprehended by Sir *Gorge Booth*, and in his houſe remaineth, till he can have opportunity to ſend him to the *Parliament* from Yorkſhire it is informed by letters from the Lord *Fairefax* that his Lordſhip intended with Gods aſiſtance with his forces at Hollifax, Bradford, and *Leeds*, Collected into one body to give battaile to the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, Although the ſaid Earles forces be about 12000 horſe and foote, and the Lord *Fairefax*, not halfe ſo many, and that if the ſaid Earle ſhould have the victory he intended to march with his Army with the Queene to the King, and ioine with his Majeſtis forces againſt the Parliaments, the Lord *Fairfax* deſireing more forces might be ſent to him

in time for his better assistance in this his intended designe.

It is likewise informed from *Buckingham* in Oxford-shire that S. W Waller and S, Iohn Gill with about foure thousand horse and foot is intended to March with his forces from thence to Wallingford, to joyne with his excellency the Lord Generall by the day appointed for the Battail to be fought between his Lordships forces and the Kings Army.

It is further informed that *Marquesse Hartford*, hath raised about six hundred horse and foot and hath conveyed them to Oxford for the better strengthning and security of that towne against the Parliaments Army.

It is for certaine truth reported that at Portsmouth are driven into that Port, and taken two ships which came from Dunkirke laden with great store of provisions of Powder and Bullets and Ammuniton, and intended for to go with the same in to *Ireland* for the relief and Assistance of the Rebells and Popish Army in that Kingdome but now ordered to be Imployed for the service of the Parliament and weale publike of *England*.

Informations from Devonshire by letters from Mr. Prideaux and the Committee for the Parl. in that County that Serjeant Major Generall Chidley a stout and gallant souldier upon intelligence that the Malignant and Popish forces under conduct of S. Ralph *Hopton*, S. Bevell Greenefield, was marching with his men to a towne called Launston with intent so to pillage and plunder the same, resolved to rescue and deliver that towne, although he had not above 200. men with him, and his cattell that drew his waggons weake and not able to goe so that he was forced to launce them himselfe by which meanes the said Sir. Bevell Greenefield with his men consisting of about five hundred horse and foot fell upon him, which he perceiving set his men in Battalio in a whole body about twelve foot deepe and gave a charge upon the Maligna[illegible] forces the fight continuing about three or foure houres but at the length the victory inclined to the Parliaments side, and by them the Malignants quite routed and in the fight taken three Colours one standard, twelve drumes some hundreds of Muskets and Pikes, seven or eight barrells of powder and many other things, The Lord Mohuns and Sir, Nicholas Slaney escaped very hardly one of them being taken and stript but not known let escape, the other through the swiftnesse of his horse escaped, some portmantles were taken and divers Packets of letters books of accompts Pavie fees for money to be lent by the country men and other things that make manifest the close and private proceeding, The Letters were one from the Lord *Hopton*, to the King informing His Majestie that he intended to advance with his forces with all expedition to Oxford, to joyne with his Majesties forces against the Earle of

Essex,

Eſſex, and the Parliaments Army, another letter was directed to the Lord *Hopton*, from Mr. Secretary Nicholas with divers directions to him in his Majeſtyes name for raiſing of all the men and money that can be in the Counties of Wilts Dorcet Cornewall and Sommerſet for the ſervice of the King.

True information brought that his Majeſtie hath ſent a Meſſage to the Earle of Eſſex intimating that his Majeſtie is deſirous to know his intentions whether he is reſolved to decide the controverſies by a pitch Battail, if he did declared that he would with his forces meet him at walling ford, upon which his Lordſhip is reſolved to obſerve his Majeſties deſire, and intends to meet him to morrow being the thirty day of April, and ſunday which day his Lordſhip is the willinger to fight for that it hath been obſerved his Lordſhip hath proſpered his enterpriſes on the formers day in conflicts, The God Almighty of his mercy goe along with his own hoſt and fight his own Battails that the victory may moſt advance his glory uphold and publiſh the true Religion that is grounded onely upon the ſacred and pure word of God, and that may onely ayme and indeavour the proſpe peace and tranquillity of this His Majeſties Kingdome, and rooting out of this and all other his Majeſties Dominions the Antichriſtian red Romiſh Religion, and all Sectaries and fanaticall perſons that profeſſe not rightly the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

From Chesterfield it reported that the forces from Darby March through that towne with there ordnance againſt Boulſover Caſtle but there deſigne was againſt the Lord Deincourt who ſtands neither for King nor Parliament, they ſent to him to demand money and his armes for the ſervice of King and Parliament, he denies them any, they fell upon him and made him yeeld to paypreſently, 1000promiſe as muchmore to make it up2000. But he hath hewed them a paire of heeles and is gotten to Newarke upon trent, but they have ſeized upon his horſes and ſuch goods as they found in his houſe.

There is intelligence come that my Lord Grey, and Sir *John Gill* forces have required the cloſe at Litchfield, and taken divers perſons of quality priſoners, as the Lord *Digby*, and Captain Leg that made an eſcape out of the gate houſe formerly.

Collonell Cromwell ſtands firm for Cambridge for he is diligent to ſecure that countrey, by collecting money and gathering up money to encreaſe his army he is gone to Peterbourough to ſecure that place that he may the better Curb the Cavaliers that are come into thoſe pares to plunder the inhabitants, and it is certaine the countrey ſtands for the King and Parliament, I could wish that every county would doe the like and no queſtion, but through

Gods help we would ſee a happie end of theſe deſtractions, and leſſe blood be ſpilt.

There is likewiſe intelligence of the taking of the City of Herreford, by that noble gentleman, Sir. William Waller, for having beſieged it ſome time he at laſt hath taken it, and it is reported he hath taken my Lord *Scudmore* priſoner but upon condition, that he ſhould yeeld himſelfe upon ſummon to the Parliament to anſwer what ſhould be alleadged againſt him, which my Lord upon his honour promiſed to obey.

Likewiſe it is certainly informed that the perſon that was ſlaine at the skirmiſh at Caverſham bridge, when the King came to relieve Redding was Collonell Ruthen, one of the Kings chiefeſt Commanders, and was carried away in one of the Kings Coaches.

God ſtill is vigilent over his people, for although the enimies of religion think to bring there ends to paſſe yet they themſelves are caught in their owne ſnare for by the Conſpirracy of Captaine *Buſhell*, thinking to defeate Sir *John Hotham* by promiſing the regaining of Scarbrough Caſtle that if Sir *John Hotham*, could ſend ſome men and Armes with him, which Sir *John* did condiſend unto and ſent two catches and a pink and a man of war a great ſhip commanded by Captaine *Moyer*, Captaine *Brown-buſhell*, went before to Scarbrouſh where he was received the catches no ſooner were Come into the harbour but were Seized on by the Kings party but the pink and man of warr having intelligence of the treachery returned to Hull: *Buſhell* returned to Hull alone making a fair ſhew to Sir *John Hotham*, as if he had obtained the Caſtle requeſted a troope of Horſe to ſecure it and the town in the intrim came in the man of war and diſcovered his treachery for which he is apprehended and condemned to be ſhot to death.

The intelligence hold good concerning my Lord of *Newcaſtle* defeated by my Lord *Fairefax* though the malignants would have it otherwiſe as by there Mercurious Aulicus wherein they affirm the contrary but I hope if God proſper our forces a little more to ſee my Lord of *Newcaſtle* and his popiſh army to be put to the worſt.

It is informed Sir *William Waller*, is drawing his forces neer Oxford leaving ſufficient Gariſons of truſt in ſure places as are for the King and Parliament.

By Letters from Devon certaine it is that Sergeant Major Chidley, Sir George Chidley his ſonne hath given the Cornish Cavaliers a great overthrow whereof the Lord Mohoone Sir Raph *Hopton*, Sir Nicholas *Slaining*, Sir Bevell *Grenvile*, Collonell *Baſſet*, and the two Collonell *Trevanians*, are chiefe and it is ſuppoſed in each of thoſe Gentlemens regiment there are

neere

neer upon eight hundred men and no more which will make the number of 6000. foot ſouldiers, beſide the horſe which is about 1200 That valiant gentleman young Mr. *Chidley*, who is now Sergeant Major Generall under the right honourable the Earle of *Stamford*, was not daunted with ſo great an army, but conſidering the cauſes he took King Davids reſolution, that notwithſtanding the greatneſſe of that giant Goliah, yet ſaid he by Gods helpe and aſſiſtance I will encounter my ſelfe with this giant, it is not the greatneſſe of a man, nor the innumerable number that overcometh, but if God be with us who can be againſt us, ſo that for credit there was taken from the Cavaliers neer upon 150 mens armes, and many priſoners, and many great ones might have been taken but the ſouldiers had more mind of pillage and of rifeling their enemy, than be troubled with their perſons. Sir William *Waller*, who for this many dayes hath been forgotten and not certainely knowne where he was but ſaid by ſome at Oxford, other ſome in Glouceſterſhire is ſince revived and worthy to be crowned with honour for the many and good ſervices he hath done in thoſe imployments eſpecially for his late ſervice in Hereford, as by letters appeareth for truth that within two dayes he got in the towne but the governours thereof would faine depart with bagge and baggage but the ſaid Sir William denied them their requeſt and gave them onely quarter, which they at laſt accepted of and there perſons to be in ſafe cuſtody till further order be appointed to the contrary.

There was taken in this towne the nine worthies of the ſhetre which from the beginning of thoſe diviſions they have ſo termed themſelves to wit Maſter *Coneſby*, the governour, Sir *Henery Croſts*, Maſter *Caire*, Sir *Walter Pye*, and many others ſo that the Gentry, and common ſouldiers with there armes that are taken about three thouſand with the leaſt: God grant with ſpeed a fewe more ſuch price, and I hope it will ſuddainely put an end to theſe diſtractions; from the Governours at Aylesbury in Buckingham-ſhire, we underſtand that there was foure gentlemen ſeene going to a Papiſts houſe and the Maſter *Nor* Mr. being not at home, they went to the next town at Miſſelden and at their Inn houſe they began to diſcourſe with their hoſt to know on which ſide he would take either for the King or Parliament (ſaid, there hoſt for the king only, ſaid theſe foure ſhare we-we proteſt unto you and have letters ſtore to private gentlemen in theſe ſhires for raſing of forces to goe, to his Majeſtie viz Cambridge-ſheire Huntington-ſheire Stafford-ſheire and other places which wee doubt not but will prevaile, two of theſe gentlemen I admire ſhould be caught in ſuch a pittfole conſidering their many plots & pollitics and all things they ever took in hand to be caught by there hoſt who honeſtly revealed

led their secrets to the Constables and so they apprehend them the names of which I will conclude, Sir *Philbert Vernack*, the great protector for Lincolnshire fennes Master *Gery*, a Iustice of peace in Buckingham-shire and a Lawyer at Grayes Inn, Master *Skipwith*, and his servant about whose neck there was found a Crucifex, which was taken from him, and was sent to Collonell Boulster, Collonell Terrill Governours for the towne of Alisbury or was delivered to Collonell Goodwin.

The Parliament after Consideration of this busines receaued, certaine information by Mr. *Charles*, he March from Gantsey that the inhabitants of that Island are well affected, both to King and Parliament, but through the instigation, and Constraint Sr. Peter *Osborn*. Governeur of the said Iland and Castle of Cornett, Captaine *Dorrell*. Lievetenant Governor, and Mr. *Medcalfe*. Porter, haue refused to submitt to the Ordinance of the Parliament, and keep the Castle from the Gentlemen deputed for the defence of the same against the Malignants, the same being made a place of transportation to & from thence to Sr: Mallowes for the shippes of Sr. Raph *Hopton*. which haue lately brought in great store of Amunition to Pendennice Castle the Cauleirs sanctuary.

Then was brought to the Parliament a more exact relation of the late Proceedings at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, to witt that Sr. John *Hele*. of Horsis Clipton Mr. Phillipps of Montague, haue by, priuate working with the townesmen raised a great Combustion and insurrections against Collonell *Pophame* and Mr. *Strode*, which without speedy Preuention will cause that towne wilfully to desert the Parliaments Service.

FINIS.

THE

O

L C

Cor
the C
the C
rance

Alſo
Mar
lin

O
and

# TWO ORDINANCES Of The LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

26

## Concerning the Trained Bands of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the County of Middlesex, for their better appearance and execution of their duties as often as they shall be called thereunto, by their Captaines or other Officers.

## Also that every Captaine shall choose a Marshall for his Company, to take notice of Delinquents, and put the former Order in Execution, and to have out of every five shillings, twelve pence for his paines.

---

Die Martis, 2. Maii, 1643.

*Ordered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, that these two Ordinances shall be forthwith Printed and published.*

John Browne Cler. Parliamento.

---

May 4. Printed for John Wright, in the Old-Bailey. 1643.

TWO

# ORDINANCES

OF THE

LORDS and COMMONS

IN

# PARLIAMENT.

# TWO ORDINANCES Of the Lords and Commons assembled in PARLIAMENT.

**Die Martis, 2. Maii, 1643.**



Whereas by an Order of Parliament, of the fourth of January last, It was Ordered that the Colonells, Captaines, and Lieutenants of the Trained Bands, & others in the Citty of London and Westminster, and the Suburbs thereof, and the County of Middlesex, [illegible] the [illegible] of five pence [illegible] formerly [illegible] of the Collonells for Payment of the Arrears upon such Souldiers under their Commands as shall not repaire to their Colours at the time appointed, and

to doe their duties there, when, and as often as they should be thereunto required, unlesse they be reasonably excused by their Captain or Lieutenant, Which Order is not onely troublesome, but begets much disaffection betwixt the chiefe Officers and Souldiers. And therefore it is not so fully executed upon the Offenders as it ought to be; Therefore it is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, That for the better Execution of the foresaid Order in every particular matter therein contained, (which every Captaine respectively is hereby required to doe) every of the said Captaines respectively shall elect and appoynt, one able person to be Marshall of his Trained Band, who shall by vertue of this Ordinance repaire to such Souldiers as his Captaine or Lieutenant shall from time to time give him notice of, that have made Breach of the foresaid Order of the fourth of January or any part thereof. And such Marshall so Elected shall, with a Constable, who is hereby required to assist him and such others as he shall call to ayde him, in the name of his Captaine, (after proceeding to the same Order) the nonappearance of two dayes after publication given him of them, or the Major of the Hundreds shall forthwith after the Receipt of the same, deliver and pay to his Captaine, to be imployed as by the same Order is appoynted. And for the paines taken by such Marshall and Constable in the better to performe this Office, It is also Ordered, that every Captain respectively shall allow unto him the said Marshall out of every fine [illegible]

so Collected as aforesaid, the sum of twelve pence, and if any such Marshall shall be found, remisse, negligent, or partiall, in not performing the trust in him reposed; It is likewise Ordered, That every Captaine may at his pleasure dismisse him from his place, and Elect another in his stead, which he shall conceive to be more faithfull to performe the same; Also it is Ordered, by the Lords & Commons now Assembled in Parliament, That if any Souldier, or Souldiers, Listed under any of the Captaines before mentioned, shall in the time of his or their Service, when he or they shall be commanded to doe duty, revile, or give any ill befeeming language to the Captaine, or other Officer belonging unto him, or neglect to doe such duty, as at any time ought or shall be imposed upon him, or them, that then the Captaine or Lieutenant, may upon the Examination thereof, commit such Souldier or Souldiers as shall so offend to Prison, there to remain 2 houres without Bayle or Maine-prize. And that every Captaine respectively shall be saved harmelesse by the Authority of both Houses of Parliament, in Executing the severall Orders aforesaid, or any of them.

*Die Mercurii, 4. Januarii,*
*1642.*



Hereas many of the Trained Bands and others, listed under several Colonels and Captaines, inhabiting within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the County of Middlesex, have neglected to make their appearance in Armes, to doe such Service by Day or Night, within the Cities and Liberties aforesaid, and in the Tower of London, as of them hath bin required, being lawfully summoned thereunto by the beat of Drum, or otherwise, for the defence of

King

King and Parliament; the safety of the Cities and Tower of London, with the adjacent parts, in the County of Middlesex; for the Reformation of so great a neglect, and for the avoyding of so imminent evils in these dangerous times, that might ensue thereupon; It is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, That the Colonels, Captaines, and Lieutenants of the Trained Bands of others in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Suburbes thereof, and the County of Middlesex, may inflict the punishment of two dayes Imprisonment without Bayle or Main-prize, or the mulct of five shillings, for supply of the service, upon such Souldiers under their Commandes, as shall not repaire to their Colours at the time appointed, and doe their duties there, when, and as often as they shall be thereunto required, unlesse they be reasonably excused, and that made knowne to the Captaine or other chiefe Officers, or being come to their colours,

shall

shall depart before they be lodged, or being to find Armes for others, shall refuse to provide them, or to deliver them, when, and as often as they shall be thereunto required.

FINIS.

E

P

An H

Cont

very

but

K

Printe

# ENGLANDS PETITION TO THEIR KING.

OR

An humble *Petition* of the diſtreſſed and almoſt deſtroyed Subjects of ENGLAND, *To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

Containing (in the judgement of the wiſe) the very ſenſe of all the true-hearted of the Kingdome; but becauſe the way to the Kings eare is ſtopt, it was ſent to LONDON, and there printed, as it is *briefly declared to the* Reader.

---

EXOD. 10. 7.

*Knoweſt thou not yet that* our Canaan *is deſtroyed?*

---

Printed on the day of *Jacobs* Trouble, and to make way (in hope) for its deliverance out of it.

*May* 5. 1643.

## To the obvious not desired Reader.

GOOD Friend, *We would have you know this Petition was intended onely for his Majesties view, but because plain dealing is seldome well taken, and his Majestie so guarded from the Requests of his Subjects, we are therefore forced to submit it to your common view, and to turne it out, in hope his* Majesty *may light of one Copie, and seriously reade it, and lay to heart the distresse of the miserable: if you censure it as the worke of some few discontented persons, Know you it is the sense of our part of the Kingdome, and if you will promise us freedome and hopes of successe, we'l soone returne it you with the hands of* 1000000. *If you condemne us for speaking too plainly, Know that misery makes men forget good manners; and dying men use not complements; We are in the case of the Lepers, If we sit still we perish, therefore we will move in the way of hope, and goe in to the King, though it be not according to Law, and if we perish we perish. Yet know, we will come farre short of the plainnesse of better persons and times,* 2 Sam. 12. 7. 1 King. 18. 18. &c. &c. &c.

# *To the Kings most Excellent Majesty;*

## The humble Petition of Your distressed and almost *destroyed Subjects of Your Kingdome of* England.

DREAD SOVERAIGNE, Its a double griefe to our soules, that we should be constrained to beg for our lives at Your hands, who are bound by the Law of God and nature, and by Your Oath, to preserve them; and that we should be forced to entreat You to spare our estates, liberties, and bloud, whose honour and strength depends so much on these our enjoyments: But extremity prevaileth and drives us to You, and casteth us here prostrate at the feet of Your Majestie: And let not Your Majesty be offended, if we speake more plainly then usually becometh us; for necessitie hath no law: It is for our lives and more, and therefore blame us not to speake; our friends, our wives, our children, our wants, our dangers, our Country, our bloud, do all pierce our eares and hearts with their daily & dolefull cryes; Oh that our requests could finde as quick accesse to Yours! Surely its impossible Your Majesty should be ignorant of the dolefull condition Your two Kingdomes are in; Doe You not know that our houses are plundered, and the fruit of our long labours taken from us; that men who have heretofore relieved hundreds of the poore, have not left them a bed to lye on, food to sustain them, or a house to put their heads in? And the poore they were wont to relieve, are forced to become Souldiers, that they may rob us by authoritie. Know You not how many thousand distressed soules cry to God day & night, in their anguish and misery, while they see You the Father of their Country, having no compassion on them? Oh! where is now Your Majesties ancient clemency? You were wont if we lost our estates by Pyrates, or but a house by fire, to grant Your gracious Letters Patents for our relieve; but now Your Souldiers rob us of all, and burne our houses to

the ground, and this not onely for obtaining victory in heat of fight, but upon deliberation afterwards, as they did at *Brimingham* in *Warwickshire* by neere a hundred houſes the next day when they left the Towne. You were wont to relieve Your Subjects when taken by Pyrates, and made Gally-ſlaves; and now the loathſome priſons of *Oxford*, and other places, are filled with their miſerable, ſtarved, diſeaſed bodyes, who (ſome of them) would think themſelves halfe free-men were they Turkiſh Gally-ſlaves; ſuch is their cruell uſage. Know You not how our Lands lye untilled, while Your Souldiers take our horſes by a thouſand at a time? and what can follow this but extreame famine? Know You not how our bloud is ſpilt, & the dead bodyes of Your Subjects, yea, many of your Nobles ſcattered as dung on the face of the earth? Have not your eyes ſeene it, & your eares heard the groanes of the wounded, gaſping for life? Is all this nothing in your eyes? To whom ſhould your people goe but to your Majeſty in this our diſtreſſe? We have tryed all other known means, and profeſſe in the ſight of God, we know none but your Majeſtie, under God, that can deliver us without more bloud and deſolation, and the world knows it is in your hands, you may doe it if you will; and doe it eaſily, and doe it with increaſe of your honour, ſafety, and happines. What if it were to part with ſomething of your right, yet ſhould not your Majeſty doe it to ſave the life of your people, from whom, and for whoſe good, You firſt received it?

*Dread Soveraigne*, We beſeech You conſider, what hath your Parliament and people done, that deſerves all this from You? Is it becauſe your Parliament relieved us from oppreſſing Courts, and illegall taxations? Was it not with your own conſent? and is it not your glory, to be King of a rich and free people? Is it becauſe they proſecute Delinquents? Why, to what end are your Courts of Juſtice els? and are not they your chiefeſt Court? And can thoſe be friends to You, and worth the defending, that are enemies to your Kingdoms? For your Forts and Navy, are they not yours for your Kingdomes good? And is not your Parliament, the Kingdome repreſentative? We know your Majeſty cannot mannage them in your own perſon, but by your Miniſters, and thoſe choſen by Counſell; and can You

or

or the Kingdome possibly judge any more able, impartiall, and faithfull to advise You in this, then your Parliament? They medled not with it, till absolute necessitie constrained; till they saw *Ireland* in rebellion, the rebells threatning *England*, the same spirits as malignant and active at home, and their own lives and the Kingdome in present apparent jeopardy, and your Majesties consent to their Bill denyed. We cannot but see the same Counsells setting your Majesty against your Parliament now, which caused their so long discontinuance, which caused the Ship-money, and other illegall taxations, which caused the late innovations in Church and State, which caused the warre with *Scotland*, which broke up the last Parliament, and caused that invective Declaration against them, in the very language of the present times. We cannot possibly conceive what your Parliament can do now to remedy any of these miseries; they humbly seek your royall consent in vaine; the offenders legally proceeded against are defended from them, yea those that your Majesty hath proclaimed such; that is denied them which is yeelded to every the lowest court of Justice; they desire nothing more then your presence and concurrence; and we know if humble Petitions or loyall affections would procure it, there would not have been so long a distance. Neither is there any visible means left, but either give up our states, liberties, lives & Religion to the dispose of your too-long tryed secret Councell, and make your Majesties meere will the onely Law, and so betray their Countrey, and the trust committed to them; (which God forbid) or else defend us by the sword.

And for us your people, what have wee done that we are made a common spoyle? Would your Majesty desire us perfidiously to betray them whom we have trusted? and desert them that have been so faithfull to us? and to kill them whom wee have chosen to save us? and destroy those who are our selves representatively? Then should we be the disgrace of the *English* Nation, the reproach of our posteritie, the very shame of nature, and should presently expect some strange judgement of God, according to the strangenesse of our offence. Its true, we are forced to take *Antidotum contra Cæsarem*; or rather to save our throats from the violence of desperate persõs about

You; But we beseech You call not this bearing Arms against You; it may be against your will; but if any of your now followers be more respective of your royall authoritie established by Law, more truely tender of your person and honour then we; then let not God prosper our proceedings, but cause us to fall before them, and give us up into their hands. We are fallen upon by the cruell, and because we will not dye quietly & without resistance, we are accused as traytors and enemies to your Majesty. We beseech your Majesty, consider in the presence of God, if your own Father & King had run upon you with his drawne sword, whether would You have suffered death without resistance, or have taken the sword *pro tempore* out of his hand? and yet neither be averse to his honour & person, or his propriety in his weapon. Doth not nature teach us the preservation of our selves? will not the eye winke without deliberation? and the smallest worme turne back, if you tread on it? And beside nature, we have frequent presidents in sacred Writt, for even more then defensive resistance of Transcendent Monarcke, 1 *Sam.* 14.44,45. 1 *Sam.* 23.11, 12. 2 *King.* 1.10.12,13. 2 *Chro.* 26.18.20. *Dan.* 6.14. &c. But if all this were nothing, yet we know your Majesty hath passed an act for the continuance of this Parliament: and sure that Act must needs meane a Parliament with its power and authoritie, and not the meere name and carkasse of a Parliament; Its not onely that they shall stay together in *London*, and doe nothing, or no more then another Court; but that they continue your chiefe Counsell, your chiefe Court, and have sole legislative power, which are your Parliaments peculiar properties: And if your Majesty hath enacted the continuance of a reall Parliament in its power, who seeth not that You have thereby joyned with them your royall authority, though not your person? Doth not your Majesty in your Expresses oft mention your selfe a part of the Parliament? and that the head without which the body cannot live? and is the Parliament valid without your authoritie? therfore if your Majesty may and have withdrawne from them your royall authoritie, then you may and have broke your own Lawes; which we dare not judge after so many solemne Protestations to maintaine and rule by the known Lawes: wherefore we hope your Majesty must needs

discerne

diſcerne that we fight not againſt You, but for your known eſtabliſht authority in Parliament. And we hope your Majeſty will not deny them to be your entire Parliament; for is the Act recalld whereby they were eſtabliſhed? if not, how can they ceaſe to be your Parliament? neither let the fault be laid on part of them; for we all know the *Major* part hath the authority of the whole, and if it were the *Minor* part, why did not, or doth not the *Major* over-vote them? And we beſeech your Majeſty blame us not to thinke our Religion and all lyes at the ſtake, while we looke back by what a traine Popery had been almoſt brought upon us by that party, and ſee them ſtill the chiefe in favour, and when ſo many Papiſts *Engliſh* and forreigne are now in Armes againſt us; and know no one Papiſt in the Land that is not zealous in the cauſe. Wonder not, *Dread Soveraigne*, if wee hardly beleeve that thoſe come now to ſave us, who in 88. and the Powder Plott, would ſo cruelly have deſtroyed us: that Papiſts ſhould be moſt zealous in fighting for the Proteſtant Religion, and Delinquents (proceeded againſt in Parliament,) ſhould ſtand for the priviledges and Laws of the Parliament; that oppreſſing Monopoliſts ſhould fight for the Subjects liberties, ſeem all riddles and paradoxes to us. Blame us not, we beſeech You, to feare, while we ſee no contradiction appeare to Mounſieur *de Cheſne* his booke, ſold openly for many yeares, not in *Paris* onely, but in *London*, and read at Court, which records your Majeſties Letter to the Pope, promiſing to venture Crowne and all to unite us to *Rome* againe.

*Dread Soveraigne*, many Princes have gone aſtray through ſtrength of temptation, and after have been happy in repenting and returning; Oh that the *Lord* would make it your caſe, and glorifie his mercy on You and us, in making known to You the thing concerning our peace, and not his Juſtice in hardning You to deſtruction: that it may never be read in our Chronicle by the generations to come, that *England* had a Prince who lived and dyed in ſeeking the deſolation of his people, and the Church of God. Your Majeſty knoweth there is a King & a Judge above You; before whom You muſt very ſhortly ſtand and give account of your Government; We deſire You in the preſence of that God, to thinke, and thinke ſeriouſly, and thinke

againe

againe how ſad it will be, to have all this bloud charged on your ſoule; Can your Majeſty thinke of this with comfort when You are dying? Can theſe Counſellors that now put you on, then bring You as ſafely off? Your Majeſty may deſpiſe what we ſay, and caſt away our Petition, and tread downe your poore people, and judge us your enemies, becauſe we tell you the truth, and ſpeake as dying men in the ſorrow of our ſoules; but You cannot ſo put by Divine Juſtice, or quiet conſcience at the laſt: As true as the Lord liveth, your Majeſtie will one day know that Blaſphemers, Papiſts, and flatterers, are not your friends; but plaine dealers, who doe aſſure You, the way You take, tends to the utter ruine and deſtruction of your Selfe and Kingdome. And can *your heart endure*, or can *your hands* be *ſtrong* in *the day* the *Lord* will reckon with *You* for *His* people committed to your charge? Oh! ſuppoſe You now heard the bloud of your people already ſpilt, crying in your eares, and ſaw the many thouſands yet living a life worſe then death, lying in their ſorrows at your feet, crying for pitty, help, oh King help, or we loſe our liberties, Lawes, lives and Religion; help that your Selfe and Royall poſteritie, be not Princes of an impoveriſhed deſolate Nation: help as ever You would have God help You in the day of death and judgement, when your Selfe ſhall cry for helpe and pittie; help that deliverance come not ſome other way, while You & your Fathers houſe are deſtroyed. The Lord God of our hopes, who hath for our ſinnes moſt juſtly afflicted us in You, give your Majeſty a diſcerning eye, a holy and tender heart, to yeeld to the Petition of your diſtreſſed Subjects, *To returne to and concurre with your Parliament*, that God and man may forget your miſtakings, and You may be the bleſſedeſt Prince that ever reigned in our Land, the terrour of your reall enemies, the joy of your people, and the glory of poſteritie; Such ſhall be the daily and heartie prayers of

*Your* MAJESTIES *loyall* (*how ever eſteemed*) *Subjects, &c.*

FINIS.

L

Willia

C

From

Intima
Brif

Ordered
this.

London,

our
are
fou
way
our
in
ce;
fa-
re
yd
in

28

# A LETTER

Sent to the Right Worſhipfull,

*William Lenthall* Eſquire, Speaker in

THE

# COMMONS

Houſe of Parliament,

*From the Major of* Briſtoll *and others,*

*whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed.*

Intimating the free Benevolence of the City of *Briſtoll*, for the relief of the Proteſtants in

*IRELAND.*

*Ordered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, That this Letter be forthwith Printed and publiſhed.*

Hen: Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

*London*, Printed for *Edw. Husbands*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in the middle Temple. May 5. 1643.

# A LETTER

Sent to the Right Worshipfull,

William Lenthall Esquire, Speaker in the

HOUSE of COMMONS

Now sitting at

Westminster.

From the Major of Bristoll and others,

Multiple Names are Illegible.

Intimating the free Expressions of the City of Bristoll, for the relief of the Protestants in

IRELAND.

Ordered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament, That this Letter be Forthwith Printed and published.

Hen: Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for Edw. Husband, and are to be sold at his Shop in the middle Temple. May 5. 1643.

*A Letter sent from the Major of Bristoll, to the Speaker of the House of*

COMMONS.

SIR,

THe Provisions which by a free benevolence hath been gathered in this city, and brought in from part of Glocestershire and Somersetshire, is embarkd upon two vessels, the one is the Meremaid of Bristoll, and the other is the Sampson of this place also; the latter whereof is a ship of good defence, and goeth a Convoy unto what we send, and that from Mynhead; they will be ready to set sail on Munday next; we thought good to render the Parliament an account

of the quantity and ſeverall ſorts of which we have incloſed, ſent in Invoice; we hope it will come timely for their relief. It is conſigned unto my Lo: *Enſhaqueen*, the Earl of Cork; and to Mr. *Richard Ward* Commiſſary, and have left it to their wiſdoms to proportion to each place what is fitting: Sir, having this opportunity, we heartily deſire you to preſent to the houſe of Commons our thankfull acknowledgement of their care of this City, in ſending Colonell *Fines* to command the Forces here: He is a Gentleman of unwearied pains and watchfullneſſe, not omitting any thing which may conduce to our ſafety; our Fortifications are in a good forwardneſſe, and hath coſt us very much moneys; Mr. *Fines* is the ſole directer thereof, who in perſon followeth it dayly, which being perfected (we hope under God) may be the preſervation of us

and

and our neighbour counties, vvhose assistance in this extraordinary charge (by the favour of the Honorable Houses of Parliament we hope to obtain) craving your furtherance and helpe vvhen the House shall be moved thereunto; for present vve conclude, vvith tender of our humble service, and rest your assured friends and servants

Bristoll, 29th of April, 1643.

*Richard Aldworth* Major, *Andrew Charlton.*
*John Coming.* *Richard Long.*
*Humphrey Hooke.* *William Jones.*
*John Tomlinson.* *Hu: Browne.*
*Joseph Jackson.* *John Locke.*

*Invoice*

*In voice of several sorts of provisions, laden upon Ship-board the Mermaid, William Lambert Master for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, from the City of Bristoll, 14. April 1642.*

IMprimis, 201. Bushells of white Peas.
Item, 805. Bushels of Gray-Peas.
Item, 82. Bushells of Beanes.
Item, 3 Hogsheads, 15 Barrells, and 2 Kinterkins of Beefe.
Item, 2 Hogsheads and one Butt of dry Fish.
Item, 10 Bundells of dry Fish.
Item, 1 Hogshead, one Barrell, and 2 Kinterkins of Corn-Fish.
Item, 20 couple of Bank-Fish.
Item, 1 Hogshead, and 2 Barrells of Herrings.
Item, 5 Tuns of Cheese, being 1684. Cheeses in bulk.
Item, 2. Hogsheads of Cheese.
Item, one Hogshead of Bacon.
Item, 34. Flitches of Bacon.
Item, one Barrell of Beefe and Bacon.

Item,

Item, one Kinterkin of Porke.
Item, 7. Kinterkins, 2 Ferkins, and one half Firkin of Butter.
Item, one Puncheon of Prunes.
Item, 3. Tuns, and 3 Hogsheads of Beer.
Item, 47 hundred, 1 quartern, 19 pound weight of Bread.

*Invoice of severall sorts of provisions, laden upon Shipp Sampson, Thomas Goodier, Master for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, from the City of Bristoll, 27. April 1642.*

IMprimis, one Barrell of Beefe.
Item, one Barrell of Meal,
Item, 1 Hogshead, and 3 Barrells of Wet Fish.
Item, one Barrell of dry Fish.
Item, 2 Kinterkins of Herrings.
Item, 3 barrells of Bacon.
Item, 20 Flitches of Bacon.
Item, one butt of Beefe and bacon.
Item, 23. Kinterkins, 17 Ferkins, 1 Tub, and 5. pots

pots of butter.
Item, 80 bushells of white Peas.
Item, 317 bushells of gray Peas.
Item, 543 bushells of Mangcorn.
Item, 3 Tuns 15 hundred of Cheese, being 1069. Cheeses.
Item, one barrell of Cheese.
Item, one bag of Hops, 102, 1 quartern, and 2. pound weight.
Item, 1 barrell, and 11 Kinterkins of Oatmeal.
Item, one butt of Malt.
Item one Punchean of Pruans.
Item, one dry Fatt of Shoes.
Item, 50. hundred weight of bread.
Item, 8 hundred of Cornfish.

Item, more in money, thirty pounds which will be layd out in provisions, and sent upon this Shipp: And this day brought in about the Countrey, about five Tuns of Corn, and other provisions.

FINIS.

Th

on

H

VV

d

# The Copy of the Petition presented to the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, by the Lord Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, &c.

Laud

## Wherein the ſaid Arch-Biſhop deſires that he may not be tranſported beyond the Seas into New England with Maſter *Peters*, in regard of his extraordinary age and weakeneſſe.



may. 6 41.

London printed for *Io. Smith*, neare the new exchange. 1642.

# THE Humble Petition of *William* Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and now prisoner in the Tower.

To the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that he may have Advocates to plead for him as Counsel, that the Petition might not be transacted here in New England with Mr. *Peters* in regard of his age.

*Humbly sheweth,*

THat your Petitioners constant solitude here in this place, hath given him time to consider of Your Petitioners self and his actions, especially the latter, which as they had divers motives and ends from whence they sprung and whither they tended, so according to them your

Petitioner was generally censured; your humble Petitioner therefore will here lay downe what your Petitioner did labour for, and upon what grounds, that every one may see that humane intents are not alwaies prosperous in their events, for which your Petitioner is now exceedingly troubled and grieved, humbly desiring that your Petitioners present sufferings and sorrow may bee considered in mercy and compassion. And whereas it is chiefly laid unto your Petitioners charge that your Petitioner sought and endeavoured to change the present Religion, and instead thereof to introduce Innovation and Popery; which purpose was so odious and hatefull to the people, that being once possessed of this opinion, they generally cryed downe your Petitioners purposes and intents, who knowing the great diversity of Religions which have beene and are in the World, and the strange fantasticall exorbitancy of some of them, which agreeing in many things and in their chiefe principles and foundations, doe yet exceedingly differ in many points and Tenets which they doe severally hold and maintaine.

Vpon those considerations your Petitioner thought

thought it would become his place being Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England, to shew a fervent zeale to Christianity, in reconciling as much as might bee the Protestant and Catholique Religion together, that though the principles of both were inconsistent, and in many things farre different, yet they might be in some sort made conformable the one to the other, and be brought at least to as neare a distance as possible could any way bee devised, that so they should agree in such points as formerly they varied about. And your Petitioner having made this the Ground worke of your petitioners labours, hoping that if your petitioner could effect that which your petitioner had propounded, her Majesty seeing that all differences of opinion are not Fundamentall and of Faith, might be reconciled in some sort, her Majesty would more easily be drawne to adhere and joyn with our Church; so your petitioners end and purpose of all your petitioners endeavours was not Innovation of Religion, but to worke such a conformation and likenesse in both, that her Majesties opinion might be drawne on and induced to embrace the Truth, holding thereby to be

a speedy meanes of her Majesties conversion. If therefore your petitioners hearty zeale to Gods glory, and her Majesties conversion to the protestant Faith by the meanes and way which your petitioner intended, did not worke that great and good effect in her Majesty as was expected, nor the petitioners endeavours in that kind were held fitting and agreeable to the petitioners dignity and place: your petitioner doth implore this grave and Honourable Assembly, that in Mercy, not in Judgement, your compassion may be shewed, in pardoning those errours wherein your petitioner hath offended. For all men, especially such as are advanced to these eminent Honours, (which your petitioner lately enjoyed) are subject to the common condition of humane frailety in matters of Judgement, shewing themselves in the greatest estate to be but men ready to erre, and fall from the happinesse wherein time and favour had invested them, and that most commonly in age, wherein your petitioner deeply stepped forward even to the yeares of 68. all his desires having proceeded contrary and thwart to those grounds whereon they were builded.

Your

Your Petitioner therefore humbly beſeeches, that in his age and laſt part of his Life, this grave and Honourable Counſell, now Aſſembled in high Court of Parliament would looke upon him in mercy, and not permit or ſuffer your Petitioner to bee tranſported, to endure the hazard of the Seas, and the long tedioufneſſe of Voyage into thoſe tranſmarine parts, and cold Countries, which would ſoone bring your Petitioners life to a period; but rather that your petitioner may abide in his Native Country, untill your petitioner ſhall pay the debt which is due from him to Nature, and ſo your petitioner doth ſubmit himſelfe to your Honourable and grave Wiſdomes for your petitioners requeſt and deſire therein.

From the Tower of London, this 6th. of May. 1643.

*And Your Petitioner ſhall humbly pray, &c.*

FINIS.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly beseecheth that in his age and last part of his Life, this grave and Honourable Counsell, now Assembled in high Court of Parliament would looke upon him in mercy, and not permit or suffer your Petitioner to be transported, to endure the hazard of the Seas, and the long tedious Trade of Voyage into those tramarine parts, and cold Countries, which would soone bring your Petitioners life to a period, but rather that your petitioner may abide in his Native Country, until your petitioner shall pay the debt which is due from him to Nature, and to your petitioner doth submit himself to your Honourable and grave Wisdoms for your petitioners request and defire therein.

From the Tower of London, this 6th. of May, 1643.

Your Petitioner &c.

FINIS.

SIR 30

# EDWARD HVNGERFORDS VINDICATION,

FOR THE SVRRENDRING of *Malmsbury* in *Wiltsshire* to the Kings forces, after it was taken by

SIR

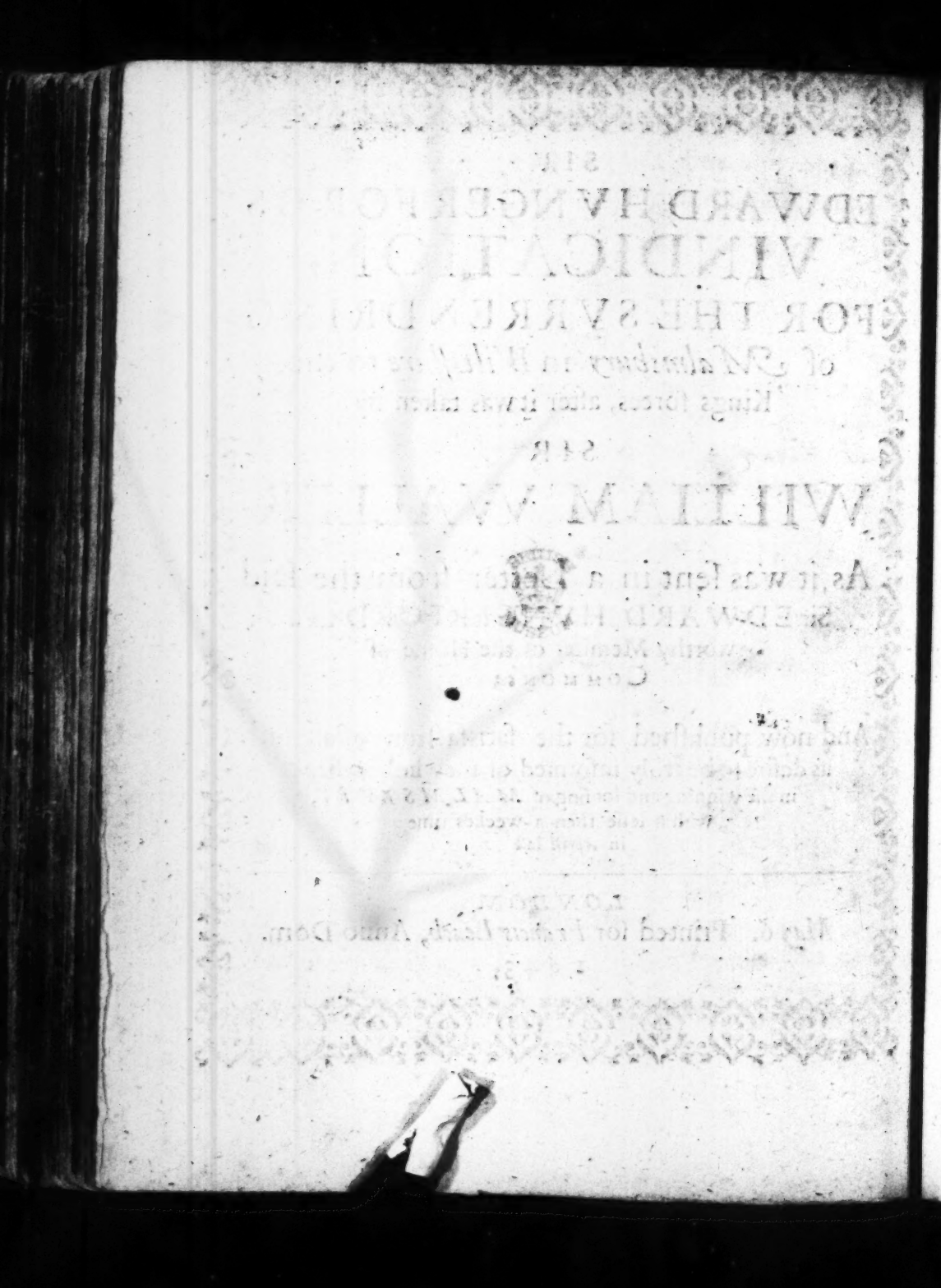
# WILLIAM WALLER.

As it was sent in a Letter from the said Sir EDWARD HVNGERFORD to a worthy Member of the House of COMMONS

And now published for the satisfaction of all such as desire to be truly informed of the whole passages in the winning and loosing of *MALMSBVRY*, within lesse then a weekes time in *Aprill* last

---

*LONDON.*
*May* 6. Printed for *Francis Leach*, Anno Dom. 1643.



SIR

# EDVVARD HVNGERFORDS Vindication, for the ſurrendring of *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire* to the Kings forces, after it was taken by *Sir William Walter.*

*SIR,*

I Have not heard that either the letter ſubſcribed by *Sir William Waller*, *Sir Arthur Haſſerigge*, and my ſelfe at *Malmsbury*, to certifie the Parliament of the taking of that towne, or mine, (within a few dayes after) relating the haſty deſerting of that towne unto the enemy, was ever read, or came to the view of either Houſe of Parliament. Wherefore to avoid miſtakes or miſ-underſtandings, that may happen by Common fame, I

ſhal briefly give you the true relation both of taking and deſerting of the ſaid Towne. Vpon the Tuſday ſenight before Eaſter, about one of the clock in the afternoone, *Sir William Waller* came before it, and at the firſt onſet tooke the Suburbs, but the Towne held out longer, being fiercely aſſaulted by our men, all that afternoone, till about ten of the clock at night, and aſwell defended by the Enemy within then being weary on both ſides there was a pawſe for a few houres, after which our drums beating an Allarum, the enemy began to treat, and upon Wedneſday by ſeaven of the Clock in the morning, Sir William did peaceably enter the Towne, where beſides three hundred priſoners that was taken, there was an Iron Saker, ſome Muſquets, and ſome Pikes, and ſome few horſes taken, but little or no ammunition.

I was apointed to take the charge of that Towne and accordingly expected to have it left withall things for defence, but much buſineſſe happening, and *Sir William Waller* haſtening out of Towne upon his deſigne towards *Glouceſter*, before any conſultation, could be had concerning the ſettlement thereof, upon Thurſday I went out of *Malmeſbury* towards *Tedbury*, with *Sir William Waller* at what time the Town was left with more Priſoners then Souldiers, without Ammunition and money, and by the way mentioning to *Sir William Waller*, the dangerous condition of that Towne if he left not there a very conſiderable party, eſpecially in caſe he removed to any remote place, without forceing the enemy firſt from *Cirenceſter*, who was there at that time ve-

ry ſtrong both in horſe and foote, whereupon *Sir William Waller* did that evening at *Tedbury* order 3. Barrells of Pouder to be preſently ſent unto *Malmeſbury*, and appointed *Major Clyfton* to repaire thither, to joyne with *Major Traple*, in the ordering of the forces there, that Captain *Talbot* with his Troop ſhould preſently go thither, to guard the Priſoners from thence the next day to *Bath* and *Captaine Waldon* with his parcell of Dragooners, neare upon 20. to remaine at *Malmeſbury*, I conceiving that the ſaid *Serjeant Major Clifton* ſent thither by *Sir William Waller* was a Commander able and fit to give direction and ſecure the Towne, I left all my forces with him at *Malmeſbury*, and went my ſelfe to *Bath* attended onely with my owne ſervants, ſpeedily to ſend more Ammunition Men and Horſe, whereof there was not at *Malmeſbury* a ſufficient number for Scouts, as alſo to get money for the paymenr of the Gariſon at *Malmeſbury*, whilſt I was about this worke, had gotten my horſes together, made up two companies ready on their march towards *Malmeſbury*, with Ammunition which was wanting there, for Ordnance, and a ſupply of other Ammunition, newes was brought that *Malmeſbury* was abandoned, (and for ought I could underſtand) rather upon the conceipt then ſight of an enemy, the cauſe of this conceived to be, from an apprehenſion of the power of an enemy neare them, the ſmale force they had then in the Towne (not exceeding one hundred and Twentie Souldiers) to make reſiſtance, the backwardens of the Country to come in to beare Armes or to aſſiſt with money

who

who seemed very forward whileſt *Sir William Waller* was preſent but altered their minds ſo ſoone as they did ſee him with his Army, to be departed from them, my Souldiers generally diſcontented, that they had not Pillage as others who tooke leſſe paines (as they thought) and loſt no blood, over burthened with duties, being but a few in number, and howerly raiſed with Allarumes.

The Captaines at odds amongſt themſelves, Major *Trayle* that ſhould have reconciled all, not ſo carefull as he ought, Major *Cliſton* that was ſent to joyne with him, gone away from thence to *Bath*, theſe two being the able Commanders, eſpecially truſted for the defence of the Towne, One of the Officers alſo amongſt them, did much increaſe their feares, and seeing falſe Alarumes, and after as their number decreaſed, did helpe to diſarme the remainder; alſo two of the Captaines that ſhould have encouraged them, told them that they were all but dead men, if they did not flie forth preſently, they being the firſt that ſhewed them the way by their example; after this the ſouldiers could not be ſtayed, but in ſpit of their Captaine & Officers which were left, who ſought to keepe them in, they ranne away ſo that within a houre or two, there were ſcarce tenne ſouldiers left in the Towne, thus was Malmſebury left at eleven of the Clock upon Saterday at night, no enemy entring until ſeven of the clock next morning being Sunday.

At this preſent the enemie hath in Garriſon there, foure hundred foot, and *Curſton* his Troope of Horſe, Colonell *Bamfield*, is appointed Gover-

nour

nour thereof, and this is the true relation of the winning and loosing of that Towne, within lesse then the space of a weeke, (as will be testified by many of very good credit) wherewith I shall entreate you to acquaint the House, that they may not suffer their servants in the Countrey to undergoe an ill oppinion, who have not deserved the same, which is all that I have at this time, to recommend unto you, but that I am.

*Bath.* 28. *Aprill* 1643.

Your humble Servant.

*Edward Hungerford.*

---

*FINIS.*

---

FINIS.

31

# Iehovah Iireh:

OR,

# GODS PROVIDENCE

IN

# DELIVERING THE GODLY.

Opened in two Sermons in the Citie of

# BRISTOLL,

On the day of publike thankſgiving in that Citie, *March* 14. 1642. For the deliverance of that Citie from the Invaſion without, and the *Plot* of Malignants within the City, intended to have been acted the Tueſday night before.

With a ſhort Narration of that Bloody and abominable Plot.

---

Preached by IOHN TOMBES, *B.D.*

---

*It is this two and twentieth day of Aprill*, Anno Dom. 1643. *ordered by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing, that this Booke intituled*, Johovah Jireh, *or* Gods providence in delivering the godly, *be printed.*

*May.* 8 *John White.*

---

*London* Printed by *Rich. Cotes*, for *Michael Sparkes Senior*, 1643.



# To the Noble and right worthy Patriots, Colonell *Nathaniel Fiennes* Governour, Colonell *Richard Cole*, Colonell *Alexander Popham*, and to the reſt of the worthy Commanders, and Souldiers in the City of *Briſtoll*.

AS it is a certaine truth, that no events happen without God, ſo it is moſt certaine that all events are ordered by Gods wiſedome to excellent purpoſes. The utmoſt and meet end of all Gods actions is himſelfe, that as all things are of him, and through him, ſo all things may bee to him, *Rom.* 11.36. The ſubordinate and nearer ends are many and various as the Almighty ſees conducible to his glory which is the utmoſt. And thus are wee to conceive that in the ordering of the preſent commotions of this Land the Lord hath ſundry ends, whereby he will in fine ſhew himſelfe great in counſell, though as yet we can hardly diſcerne whereto they tend. Among

many other ends he hath, theſe two ſeeme moſt apparent, the diſcovery of men, and the diſcovery of himſelfe. For whereas on the one ſide the bloody minded Papiſts, the proud ſenſuall Libertines, the jugling deceitfull Prieſts and Prelats had gotten the reputation of honeſt men, and on the other ſide the ſincere, zealous and faithfull Chriſtian ſuffered all indignities under the imputations of hypocriſie, covetouſneſſe, faction and ſuch like calumnies; now by theſe preſent tryalls the integrity, faithfulneſſe and courage of the one, the hypocriſie, falſehood, and wickedneſſe of the other are made manifeſt. And whereas the frequency of prophane oathes, and Atheiſticall perjuries, the ſcorne of Religion, deriſion of Piety, and contempt of holineſſe had worne out the apprehenſions of God, and imboldned men to play with him as a contemptible name, God hath begun to diſcover himſelfe, and yet further will in time appeare to be the great Lord of Hoaſts, and the protector of his deſpiſed, and oppreſſed people.

In reference to the later of theſe forenamed ends God hath vouchſafed to diſcover many Plots, to give many deliverances, to doe great things in theſe few yeares laſt paſt for the vindicating of his owne Name, the worth and innocency of his people, and declaration of the malignitie of ungodly ſpirits.

Among which that which he did in preſerving of

this

this city in the late deliverance hereof is not the leaſt, being in the apprehenſion of thoſe that know all the circumſtances and the concurrence of Gods providence therein, a very remarkable & memorable thing.

In the commemoration and acclamation thereof it pleaſed God that by the appointment of one of you I ſhould have a part, having by Gods providence bin driven hither for ſhelter againſt the unreaſonable & impetuous violence of ſuperſtitious people enraged by the inſtigations of bloody minded Papiſts, corrupt Prieſts, and looſe Libertines. Since which time I have been ſollicited to publiſh theſe ſubitany Meditations: though the matter deſerves a more full diſcovery and an exacter commentary. Nevertheleſſe that the remembrance hereof might not die, and that ſome light might bee added to them that ſeeke out Gods workes as having pleaſure therein, I have yeelded to their requeſt. And foraſmuch as the deliverance in the firſt place belonged to your ſelves as firſt deſtinated to ſlaughter, and my worke in the Thankſgiving proceeded from you, I have conceived it meeteſt to tender theſe Sermons to you for your acceptance and uſe, praying the Almighty ſtill to preſerve your perſons and to direct your wayes for the publike good and your own ſalvation. In both which to ſerve you continueth

*Yours in all humble obſervance,*

# A ſhort Narration of the late bloody and abominable conſpiracy againſt the City of *Briſtoll*, as appeareth by the examination of the Parties thereunto. 1642.

A *Malignant and treacherous Party within this City, having long endeavoured to bring in the forces of the enemy into this City, they hoped that they had gotten an opportunity to effect their deſigne on Tueſday night laſt being the ſeventh of* March, *when by their invitation Prince* Rupert *having drawne a great party of Horſe and Dragoones with ſome foote to* Durdum *Downe, within two miles of this Citie, the evening before that night, theſe treacherous and bloody perſons within the towne had framed a party to fall upon the backes of the Guards, and to ſurprize them and cut them off, and to let in the enemy, who upon the ringing of two Bells, viz* S. Iohns *and* S. Michaels, *were to give on upon the Towne without, as the conſpirators were to fall upon the guards within. The ringing of theſe two Bells being a common ſigne unto them both within and without the towne. For the better effecting of this trayterous and wicked conſpiracy, the chiefe heads thereof had that night aſſembled together in their houſes thoſe of their confederacy, with divers Saylers and Halliers with all ſorts of Armes, Muskets, Piſtolls, Swords, Clubs, and Barrells of old Nayles to charge the Ordnance withall after they*

*they had surprised them. And these severall companies under their severall Leaders were to have fallen upon the severall Courts of guards; Master* Robert Yeomans (*who is the head of this conspiracy and pretendeth a Commission from his Majesty for what he hath done*) *being to fall upon the maine Guard, and Master* George Butcher *with his company was to have fallen upon the Guard at* Froome *Gate, and to have opened it for the enemy to enter by: others no doubt had their parts to play, and the better to distinguish themselves from those that were destinated to destruction, those that were of their party had a word which was* (Charles) *and certaine markes of white Tape tied upon their breasts before, and their hats behind, and such as were to be spared within doores had certaine markes set upon the inside of their doores; for the rest (if we may believe the speeches of an Officer amongst the enemies Forces) one of them was heard to say that Prince* Rupert *had commanded them to give no Quarter, but to kill man, woman and child that had not those markes upon their persons and houses. And that at the same time that they were to fall into the towne, the Saylers were to set the towne on fire in severall parts; (which is conceived should have been Captaine* Boones *part) but God of his mercy delivered us from this dangerous and devillish conspiracy, by some notice that we had given unto us of their meeting at* Yeomans *his house, about an houre or two before the plot was to have beene put in execution, which was to have been upon the ringing of the Bells about one or two a clocke in the morning. Having seized on Master* Robert Yeomans *with his company, and after,* Butcher

*with*

*with his company, the necke of the plot being broken within the Towne, the enemy without (whose deſigne as it ſhould ſeeme depended much upon it) having ſhowne themſelves upon the Downe the next morning after two or three ſhot of Canons made againſt them from our worke upon* Brandon *hill, they wheeled off, and ſo God put a Hook into their noſtrills, and turned them back againe: for which great mercy of his in delivering us from a dangerous invaſion of the enemy without, and from a damnable conſpiracy of ſome traytorous inhabitants within the City; both this towne and the whole kingdome (ſo far as it is concerned in the preſervation of this City) hath great cauſe to give thanks to Almighty God, unto whom alone the glory thereof is due.*

*This is a ſhort narration of the late deteſtable and bloody Plot againſt this City, whereof no doubt more hereafter will appeare, the matter being yet under examination, onely one writing which was found in* Robert Yeomans *his houſe, I thought fit to adde, which was as followeth.*

*All Inhabitants of the Bridge, the High-ſtreet and Corne-ſtreete, keepe within your doores upon perill of your lives: All other inhabitants of this Citie that ſtand for the King, the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberties of this City, let them forthwith appeare at the High Croſſe with ſuch armes as they have for the defence of their lives, their wives and children, and follow their Leaders for the ſame defence.*

*There was alſo a Proteſtation taken amongſt them to this effect, that they would oppoſe to the utmoſt of their power, all Forces whatſoever that were, or ſhould be amongſt them, or that ſhould come in without the conſent of the King.*

Iehovah

# Iehovah Iireh.

2 PETER 2. 9.

*The Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation, and to reſerve the unjuſt to the day of judgement to be puniſhed.*

THis paſſage containes two conſectaries deduced from the 5,6,7. Verſes; the Apoſtle had adviſed Chriſtians *To take heed unto the ſure word of Prophecy*, Chap. 1. Verſ. 19. *as being a light ſhining in a darke place, not from a private delivery by the will of man, but by the motion of the holy Ghoſt*, Verſ. 20,21. withall he foretells, Chap. 2. 1. that as there had been falſe Prophets among the People, ſo there ſhould be falſe Teachers among them, whoſe practiſe he declares, Verſ. 1,2,3. and their judgement, Verſ. 3. which he confirmes by three inſtances. 1 Of Gods not ſparing the Angels that ſinned, Ver. 4. 2 His bringing in the flood upon the world of ungodly, but *ſaving Noah a Preacher of Righteouſneſſe*, Verſ. 5. 3 His overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah, and delivering juſt Lot*, Verſ. 6,7. From theſe inſtances he inferres by an Induction two rules to be obſerved in the courſe of Gods proceedings. Firſt, *That he knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of temptation.* Secondly, *That he knoweth how to reſerve the unjuſt to the day of judgement to be puniſhed.* The particle [εἰ γὰρ, for if] Verſ. 4. ſhewes theſe inſtances to be brought as a *medium* to prove a concluſion, and the argument is thus. If God even then when he caſt the Angels that ſinned downe to hell, yet preſerved the guiltleſſe Angels, and even then when he brought the deluge on the wicked world, ſaved *Noah* a Preacher of righteouſneſſe, and even then when he overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, delivered juſt *Lot*, *& ſic in cæteris*, then it followes as in my Text, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation, &c.*

The former of theſe two Conſectaries I have choſen this day to inſiſt on, being a day ſet apart for the commemoration of a late delive-

rance of this City from a blood, , and abominable conſpiracy within it, wherein God hath added one more memorable Inſtance to verifie this rule of Saint *Peter*, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of Temptation.*

Two concluſions may from hence be gathered. Firſt, *That the godly while they live among unjuſt men upon the earth be in Temptation.* Deliverance from Temptation preſuppoſeth a being in Temptation. Secondly, *That God knowes how to deliver them though they know not*; *Noah* and *Lot* knew not how they ſhould be delivered, but *God knew how to do it.*

To confirme the former of theſe we need not many Scriptures, it being proved by continuall experience, yet I ſhall produce ſome, *Luk.* 22. 28. *Our Lord Chriſt ſaith of himſelfe, Yee are they which have continued with me in my Temptations.* Our Lord Chriſt when he lived on earth, was in continuall Temptations, and what was Chriſts eſtate is the eſtate of all Chriſtians comformably; Saint *Paul* of himſelfe, *Act.* 20. 19. ſaith, *That he ſerved the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many teares and Temptations which befell him by the lying in waite of the Jewes*, and *Heb.* 11. 37. among other things that befell the Saints it is ſaid *They were tempted.* Temptation then is one of thoſe things that are the lot of the godly.

I ſhall endeavour to open this truth, by inquiring; firſt, who are to be accounted godly; ſecondly, what temptation they are under; thirdly, why it is ſo with them? In anſwer to the firſt we may take notice that the word we tranſlate *godly* in Grecke εὐσεβῆς is as much as in Engliſh *right worſhippers.* So they that be right worſhippers are godly perſons; the Etymology fitly expreſſeth the thing: Now by worſhip is meant the honour and ſervice that is done unto a God. For godlineſſe implies religious ſervice, and all that religious ſervice we performe to any thing under the notion of a God, that is worſhip: And it is *Mediate*, or *Immediate*; mediate ſervice is that which is directed to man, yet by reaſon of reſpect unto God. For this is a cleare truth, that even all the duties of righteouſneſſe we performe to men, if they be done in obedience to God, they are part of his ſervice and worſhip, not in reſpect of the matter wherein, but in reſpect of the motive by which they are performed. Thus when a ſervant doth diſcharge his duty faithfully to his Maſter as *Doing the will of God from the heart*, hee is ſaid to doe ſervice to the Lord, *Epheſ.* 6. 5, 6, 7. *Coloſ.* 3. 24. Every ſervant that obeyes his maſter, every child that honours his father, every ſouldier that obeyes his Commander out of conſcience to God, not for wages, portion, applauſe or the like reſpects onely, therein hee worſhips God. Immediate worſhip is that which is directed onely

to

to God. And this hath by uſe engroſſed the name of *Worſhip*. Now when this is not right worſhip, though men bee never ſo devout in it, yet they are not godly perſons: when the Prieſts of *Baal* called on the name of *Baal* from morning even till noone, ſaying, *O Baal heare us, though they cryed aloud and cut themſelves after their manner with Knives and Lances till the blood guſhed out upon them*, 1 *Kings* 18.26.28. yet there was no godlineſſe in all this. In like manner though the Papiſts and other ſuperſtitious perſons are very devout in their way, ſpend much time in prayer after their manner, faſt often, and doe many laborious works for ſatisfaction of their ſinnes, yet becauſe they worſhip not God aright they are not godly perſons. If it be then asked who are they that are *Right worſhippers*? I anſwer. To right worſhipping theſe things are requiſite.

Firſt, they that are right worſhippers worſhip onely the true God; whoſoever he be that gives religious worſhip of any ſort to any other beſides the Lord *Jehovah*, whether it be inward worſhip of the ſoule, as truſting in it, loving it, fearing it, magnifying and extolling of it in their hearts, or outward worſhip, as by geſture of the body, kneeling, falling downe before it, bowing, lifting up the hands or eyes, kiſſing, or by offering of gifts, bringing oblation, incenſe, ſacrifice, firſt fruits, tithes, or by ſwearing by them, praying to them, making vowes to them, bleſſing them, ſinging Hymnes in their praiſe, conſecrating Temples, making Prieſts, keeping holy dayes to them, (for all theſe are religious worſhip) whoſoever I ſay gives any or more of theſe or any other ſort of *Religious worſhip* not mentioned to any beſides the true God, is an *Idolater*, and therefore not a right worſhipper; for this is the true definition of an *Idolater*: *Whoſoever gives Divine worſhip to a Creature is an Idolater*: as may be gathered from the Apoſtles deſcription of Idolaters, *Rom.* 1.25. where it is charged upon them *that they changed the truth of God*, that is, the inviſible Power and Majeſty of God, which they knew by the things that are made, Verſ. 18, 19, 20, 21. *into a lie*, that is, into a lying reſemblance, *and worſhipped and ſerved the Creature*, παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα *more then the Creator*, ſo our laſt Tranſlation hath it, but the better and true reading is, *Beſides the Creator*. For it is plaine by the words, Verſ. 23. *That they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible man*, and Verſ. 25. *that they changed the truth of God into a lie*, and therefore they worſhipped the Creature more then the Creator: But this was their Idolatry that they worſhipped the Creator by a lying reſemblance, and ſo worſhipped the creature beſides the Creator. So then this is the firſt note of a right worſhipper,

that hee worſhips with Religious worſhip none but *Jehovah* the true God.

Secondly, they that are right worſhippers as they worſhip onely the true God, ſo they direct this worſhip only by the true Mediatour, which is Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God. He onely is a right worſhipper, that worſhips God in Chriſt, whoſoever he be that makes any other mediator unto God, let him be called mediator of redemption or of interceſſion, it is againſt the true worſhipping of God, and an high violation of the glory of Jeſus Chriſt. For as the Apoſtle tells us, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. *There is one God and one Mediator betweene God and man, even the man Chriſt Jeſus*; no more Mediators are acknowledged by the Apoſtle, then there be Gods. *To us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we in him,* 1 *Cor.* 8. 6. Therefore the true worſhippers are deſcribed to be ſuch as *rejoyce in Chriſt Jeſus, Phil.* 3. 3. that glory in him as their Lord and Mediator.

Thirdly, they that are right worſhippers, worſhip the true God by the true Mediator according to the true rule, that is, they worſhip the true God according to his owne preſcription, and appointment, not according to mens devices and inventions. For as our Saviour tells us, *Matth.* 15. 9. *In vaine doe they worſhip God, who teach for Doctrines the Commandements of men.* Hee that ſhall goe as far as *Hieruſalem* to viſit Chriſts Sepulchre, that ſhall ſprinkle himſelfe with holy water, keepe reliques of Saints, obſerve old cuſtomes of former Chriſtians, abſtaine from eating fleſh, if he could keepe all the traditions of men, not faile in any point of ceremony, and thereby thinke to pleaſe God as if hee did him honour, thereby ſhall not onely miſſe of his end, but alſo in ſtead thereof provoke the wrath of God againſt himſelfe through his ſuperſtition. Let all ſuperſtitious perſons who are very devout in their way, know this for a certaine truth, that God doth not eſteeme them as godly perſons, becauſe they are not right worſhippers of God. The godly *have the Law of God in their heart, Pſal.* 37. 31. and according to it, endeavour to walke in all duties of his worſhip.

Fourthly, right worſhippers worſhip God for a right end, that they may honour him and exalt him in their ſoules, and give him glory. The Phariſees *Matth.* 6. 5. prayed to God, gave Almes, and no doubt alſo brought their ſacrifices to Gods Altar, yet nevertheleſſe they were adjudged Hypocrites, becauſe they did theſe things that they might bee ſeene of men. And the ſame cenſure belongs to all others that ſhall pray, preach, heare, or performe any other duty of Gods worſhip that they

may

may gaine a name of Religious perſons, and not chiefely for the glory of God that his name may be ſanctified, whoſoever miſſeth the right end of worſhip, loſeth the title of a Godly man.

Fiftly, Right worſhippers worſhip God from a right principle. Two principles of our worſhip are neceſſary that our worſhip be right.

Firſt, the Spirit of God; no man can worſhip the Lord in truth, unleſſe the Spirit of God dwell and act in him, 1 *Cor.* 12.3. *No man can ſay that Jeſus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghoſt.* Secondly, a right faith, without which a man cannot worſhip truely, for the doctrine of our Lord Jeſus is the doctrine which is according to godlineſſe, 1 *Tim.* 6.3. *The myſtery of Godlineſſe*, 1 *Tim.*3.16. *the faith of Gods elect, the acknowledging of the truth, which is after godlineſſe*, *Tit.*1.1. whence I inferre that to godlineſſe is requiſite an acknowledgement of the truth, and that onely the true faith is that which begets godlineſſe. Wherefore all Hereticall perſons that hold falſehoods againſt the fundamentall truths of the Goſpell cannot be right worſhippers; a corrupt faith doth beget a corrupt worſhip.

Sixtly, right worſhippers muſt worſhip God with right affection. They that worſhip God truely muſt worſhip God in ſpirit and truth, *Joh.*4.23,24. *We are the Circumciſion which worſhip God in the ſpirit*, *Phil.*3.3. that is, that worſhip God, not onely with the outward man, but alſo in the inward man, with knowledge, love, zeale, reverence, obedience, &c.

Secondly, theſe godly perſons you heare are under Temptations. Temptation is as much as Tryall. By Temptations are meant ſinfull and evill practiſes, and that both as ſinfull and harmefull. For the concluſion being drawne from the inſtances before, Verſ.5,6,7. it is to be conceived that the Temptation that God knoweth how to deliver from, is the ſame with which *Noah* and *Lot* were exerciſed. Now *Lot* was exerciſed with the evill practiſes of the *Sodomites* as they were ſinfull, *That righteous man dwelling amongſt them, in ſeeing & hearing vexed his righteous ſoule from day to day with their unlawfull deeds*, Verſ. 8. In like manner *Noah* was tried by the corrupt doings of the old world. The ſinfull and impure actions of evill men are Temptations to the godly that live among them. Likewiſe *Lot* was exerciſed with their evill practiſes as they were harmefull. So you may reade *Gen.*19.4.9. *That the Sodomites compaſſed Lots houſe, and would have broken in upon him, and violated the Strangers that came into his houſe.* And accordingly, to deliver from Temptation, is not onely to deliver from the infection of ſin, but alſo to deliver from miſchievous maſſacres, violations, breaking

open of houſes, ſpoyling, perſecution, combinations, reproaches, taunts and all other injurious uſages godly men are in danger to meete with. Now theſe are called temptations. Firſt, partly becauſe they are provocations to ſin, for a man that lives among wicked men is not onely by example provoked to imitate them, but alſo by continuall and inceſſant moleſtations, driven to doe as they doe, for their owne eaſe, quiet, and ſecurity, and drawne by their flatteries, and wiles to comply with them, and thereby tempted. Secondly, partly becauſe they are exerciſes of patience, and conſtancy whereby the ſtrength and ſtedfaſtneſſe of Beleevers is tryed.

Now for the reaſons hereof. Firſt, the firſt is from the innate hatred and malice that is in the heart of all unrighteous men towards the godly. There is a venomous malignity in the heart of wicked men towards the godly, be they as neere to them as the wife in the boſome, or the childe that is the fruite of their loynes: though it may be ſmothered a while in the heart, yet it lurkes in the heart, and will flame forth when that which covers it is removed, and ſome occaſion bring it forth into act. Thus our Saviour informes his Diſciples, *Joh.* 15. 19. *If yee were of the world the world would love his owne: but becauſe ye are not of the world, but I have choſen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.* And after him Saint *John* 1. *Epiſt.* 3. 13. Marvell not my Brethren if the world hate you.

Even as there is a naturall Antipathy between ſome beaſts, as a Wolfe will worry and devoure a Lambe, though it lye downe quietly by it, ſo there is a ſecret Antipathy betweene an ungodly and a godly perſon, though never ſo willing to live in peace. Hence it is a ſport to them to doe miſchiefe, a contentfull thing to vex them. If they heare evill of them, they will beleeve and divulge it; if they have a ſcoffe to flout them with, they will vent it; if they have a deſire to harme them, they will practiſe it. And that they hate them becauſe they are godly, appeares by the fallhood of their pretences for their hatred. They pretend they hate them for cenſuring them, ſometimes for faction, turbulency, ſedition, ſometimes for hypocriſie and ſuch like pretences. And yet who more cenſorious, factious, turbulent, ſeditious, falſ-hearted than themſelves? or whom doe they favour more than ſuch perſons? doubtleſſe if the godly were ſuch, they would love them as being like themſelves. Search the matter to the bottome, and it will appeare that theſe are but colours to cloke their hatred with from the eyes of men. It appeares by the univerſality of their hatred to godly perſons. If their hatred were particular to ſome, it might be ſurmiſed it came from ſome particular

cauſe

cauſe of difference. But experience ſhewes it to be generall, their ſpirits are imbittered againſt thoſe that they never had any dealing with, their hearts riſe againſt thoſe they never ſaw, if they heare or conceive them to be Preciſians, Puritans, Round-heads, or if there be any other Appellation by which they denominate godly perſons. Though the ſame perſons were delightfull to them before, though they were eſteemed & prayſed by them, yet when once they begin to be godly they loath them, vilifie them, abuſe them. It appeares further, in that they hate them notwithſtanding neare relations, by reaſon of which nature teacheth them to love them. An unrighteous father or mother will not brooke a righteous child, an Idolatrous, husband will not agree with an holy wife: they that agree not in the true worſhip of the ſame God, cannot agree among themſelves. Beſides this hatred is implacable, without mercy: there muſt be no favour ſhewed to a Puritan, when a Papiſt, a Drunkard, a Thiefe, a wandring rogue ſhall finde favour, come off eaſily in any tryall, be remitted any wrong; but no plea, no interceſſion, no deprecation ſhall prevaile to ſave a godly perſon from the extremity of oppreſſion.

Secondly, ungodly men are of unquiet ſpirits, they are like Satan that never reſts, *Matth.* 12.43. *The wicked*, ſaith the Prophet, *Iſay* 57. 20. *are like the troubled ſea, when it cannot reſt, whoſe waters caſt up mire and dirt.* They are ſtill ſurmiſing ſome evill, or inventing ſome evill, or ſpeaking ſome evill of them, or acting ſome evill againſt them. It is wages enough for them to doe hurt to godly men, though they hazard life, eſtate, credit, and their ſoules too, yet they are furiouſly carried to doe them miſchiefe, *Come ſay they, Jer.* 18 18. *let us deviſe deviſes againſt Jeremiah; come let us ſmite him with the tongue. They deviſe miſchiefe on their Beds; they ſet themſelves in a way that is not good: they abhorre not evill, Pſal.* 36.4. *They ſleepe not except they have done miſchiefe, and their ſleepe is taken away unleſſe they cauſe ſome to fall, Prov.* 4.16.

Thirdly, they be injurious. *The beſt of them*, ſaith the Prophet, *is a Briar; the moſt upright is ſharper then a thorne hedge, Micah* 7.4. Take the beſt, that is, the moſt civill, ingenuous, regular, of unregenerate men, ſuperſtitious people, carnall worldlings, lukewarme formaliſts, they cannot brooke a zealous religious perſon, if they cannot wound deadly they will ſcratch and teare their fleſh, if they cannot bite, they will barke and ſnarle at them.

Fourthly, they are proud, high conceited of themſelves: But the godly are of no account in their eyes; they conceive themſelves Gyants, godly men as *Pygmees*; now pride begets diſdaine, and inſolent behaviour. *When pride compaſſeth them about as a chaine, violence covereth them as a Garment,*

*Garment, Pſal.* 73.6. when pride is in the heart there will bee ſpurning and trampling upon with feet.

Laſtly, ungodly men are acted by Satan, *Epheſ.* 2 2. *He is the ſpirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience.* And they that are ruled by Satan muſt needs doe what hurt they can to godly perſons. When the Devill entred into *Judas* his heart he could not ſtay but goes out preſently about his worke of betraying his maſter, *John* 13.27. no ſooner have they a Commiſſion from Satan, but they are preſently ready to execute it. And therefore it cannot bee but that while the godly live among the unjuſt they ſhould be under temptations.

*Applic.* For application of this Truth, we may be informed in the reaſon of the preſent miſchievous carriage of unjuſt men towards the godly, why they now tempt them, not onely by perſwaſions to ſinne with them, but alſo by ſcorning, contemning and injurious dealing, yea and (as the preſent experience proves it true) by miſchievous Plots to deſtroy them, and to root them out of the Land of the living: The late example of their practiſes, which occaſioned this dayes ſolemnity is a moſt remarkable Inſtance of the malignity of ſpirit that is in the hearts of wicked men againſt godly perſons. What the plot was you have heard from the relation read to you. I hope you thereby ſufficiently apprehend the certainty and manner of it from their owne confeſſions, the miſchievouſneſſe of it, how great it would have beene, if it had taken effect: and by ſomething in the relation, as the ſecuring of ſome perſons and houſes by privy markes, who were like themſelves, and the deſtinating of others to a *pmoletbrie*, it appeares that it was carried with a hatred and enmity againſt godly perſons, whom they have branded with the name of Round-heads.

I deny not but it hath beene alleadged, that the reaſon of this plot was loyalty to the King, that they might expell out of the Citie, thoſe that rebell againſt him, and admit his forces into it: concerning this matter it is needfull ſomething be ſpoken. The conſtant Proteſtation of the Commanders and Souldiers here is, *That they will maintaine to the utmoſt of their power with their life and fortunes the Kings majeſties royall perſon, honour and eſtate.* If any ſhall keepe this Citie againſt the King, undoubtedly that perſon ſhould be made an example by ſome heavy end. I hope none here have any ſuch thoughts or purpoſes; but that their ends are right to protect it for the King, and not againſt the King. But it will be ſaid, How can that be, ſith it is againſt his will? his command is to the contrary? Concerning this, thus much is ſaid, that even by the judgement of thoſe perſons againſt whom lies no exception

ception it hath been granted, that ſometimes it may not bee rebellion to reſiſt the perſonall will and command of the King. I will alleadge three inſtances. The firſt out of a Booke intituled *The true difference betweene Chriſtian ſubjection and Antichriſtian Rebellion*, compoſed by *Thomas Bilſon* afterwards Biſhop of *Winchester*, and in great power at Court in King *James* his dayes, dedicated to Queene *Elizabeth*, and for ought can be gathered by the frequent Printing of it, and the preferment of the Author adjudged Orthodox. In it there are theſe words.

"If a Prince ſhould goe about to ſubject his kingdome to a forraine "realme, or change the forme of the Commonwealth from imperie "to Tyranny or neglect the Lawes eſtabliſhed by common conſent "of Prince and people to execute his owne pleaſure: in theſe, and other "caſes which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons joyne to-"gether to defend their ancient, and accuſtomed liberty, Regiment "and Lawes, they may not well be accounted Rebels. And a little af-"ter. As I ſaid then, ſo I ſay now, the law of God giveth no man leave "to reſiſt his Prince: but I never ſaid that Kingdomes and Common-"wealths might not proportion their ſtates as they thought beſt by "their publike Lawes, which afterward the Princes themſelves may "not violate. By ſuperiour Powers ordained of God wee underſtand "not onely Princes, but all politicke ſtates and regiments, ſomewhere "the people, ſomewhere the Nobles having the ſame intereſt to the "Sword that Princes have in their kingdomes. And in kingdomes "where Princes beare rule by the Sword, we doe not meane the Prin-"ces private will againſt his Lawes: but his Precept derived from his "Lawes, and agreeing with his Lawes: which though it be wicked, "yet may it not be reſiſted of any ſubject with armed violence. Marry "when Princes offer their ſubjects not juſtice, but force: and deſpiſe "all lawes to practiſe their luſts; not every, nor any private man may "take the ſword to redreſſe the Prince: but if the Lawes of the Land "appoint the Nobles as next to the King to aſſiſt him in doing right, "and with-hold him from doing wrong, then bee they licenſed by "mans Law, and ſo not prohibited by Gods to interpoſe themſelves "for the ſafeguard of equity and innocency and by all lawfull and "needfull meanes to procure the Prince to be reformed: But in no caſe "deprived where the Scepter is inherited.

The ſecond inſtance is in King *James*, who in his anſwer to Cardinall *Peron* his Oration to the three eſtates of *France*, ſpeakes of the Proteſtants in *France*, who had ſundry times in the dayes of *Francis* the ſecond, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, Kings of *France*, taken

up Armes against the oppression of the *Guisian* faction at Court maintained by those Kings, as of the Kings best subjects, and that their civill warres was not taking up armes against their King, it was but standing on their Guard; which the event proved to be true.

The third instance is the Act of Parliament confirming the Treaty with the *Scots* Commissioners passed by our present King this very Parliament, in which it was enacted, That the *Scots* Covenanters who had seized on *Edenborough* Castle, raised an Army in *Scotland* against the Kings will, and entred *England* therewith, were nevertheless on *September 7. 1641.* to bee declared in all Churches of this kingdome of *England* no *Rebells*: from which also they were acquitted by our present King in their Parliament of *Scotland*. But it will bee said, that though things are carried never so violently or unjustly, yet Christians are taught to suffer, not to resist.

*Answ.* It is true, wee may not resist Authority; but suffer under it, though proceeding unjustly. We are forbidden to resist not only the supreame, but also the meanest person in authority proceeding according to authority, that is, in a way of law judicially, though the proceedings be unjust, yet while the proceedings are according to authority, there is no resistance allowed but by suffering. But if so be that the proceeding be by meere violence, spoyling men of their goods, destroying, restrayning their persons without any legall charge, surely Gods Law hath not debarred men of the use of the Law of nature, which directs a man to defend though not to revenge himselfe against violence; suppose a Prince should take with him a company of robbers and cut-throates, and set upon a Subject by the high way, I would have it considered whether a Traveller might not defend his person and goods: and in like manner may it be said concerning breaking into a mans house. Though *Davids* heart smote him when he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, yet we reade not that he repented his gathering a band of men to him, his getting into strong holds for defence of himselfe against *Saul*.

If there were now any that had a hand in this wicked Plot here present, I would speake to them by way of Expostulation. What have the godly done, or what do they that there should bee such devices against them? If it be said they are factious, and disturbe the land by their faction; I would further know what is their faction? Doe they make a side or party to engrosse wealth, honour or secular power to themselves? They strive much you will say to prevaile; True, they strive, but for whom? for themselves, or for God? What is it they are earnest

for?

for? Is it not for a necessary reformation? Is it not that the holy Ordinances of Christ may bee kept from prophanation by the promiscuous admittance of all sorts of open ungodly persons, drunkards, swearers, &c. unto them? Is it not that those inventions of men which are by many thought parts of Gods worship, without which Gods service is not well performed, and consequently superstitious in their use, may be removed? Is it not that Gods worship may be reduced from a meere empty formality by saying prayers, & reading out of a Book, to a lively & fruitful performing therof? Is it not that in stead of a swarm of ignorant Ministers, that have not knowledge or skill to teach the principles of Christian Religion, of licentious, and lewd Ministers that by their evill life are a shame to our Religion, of meere worldlings, of proud ambitious Ministers that seeke their owne things, and not the things of Jesus Christ, of corrupt Ministers that are corrupt in their opinions, as in the doctrine of Grace, Christs presence in the Eucharist, &c. there may be placed over the Church of Christ godly, able, painefull, orthodox Ministers that may guide the people of God into the way of peace? It it not that in stead of that kinde of discipline which all the world knowes hath beene used onely to draw mony out of mens purses, to oppresse godly persons, and holy exercises tending to promote knowledge and pietie under pretence of conventicles, to domineere and Lord it over Gods heritage, there might be a right way of discipline set up, tending to the right ordering and furthering of Gods worship? Is it not that in stead of the increase of Popery and the Masse (which are likely in time unlesse prevented to overgrow true Religion) preaching of Christ may be promoted? If this be their faction, so farre as I can conceive it is a faction for God, and they that ayme at their oppression for this cause, aime at the oppression of godlinesse and godly persons.

Secondly, wee may hence learne that they doe ill provide for their peace, that doe favour such unrighteous persons. If yee aske who doe so? I answer, first, they that choose to dwell neare them for worldly advantages: This was *Lots* sinne and folly, *Gen.* 13.10, 11, 12, 13. who chose his habitation in *Sodom*, because it had a pleasant and fruitfull situatuation, though the inhabitants were exceeding wicked before the Lord. Yee know how ill he sped by going to *Sodom*, thinking to get more wealth he lost all. Secondly, those that make marriages, leagues and bonds of amitie with them. Usually such persons finde their marriages to be their misery, their friendship to be their snare. They that

were mingled among the heathen learned their workes, and they became a snare to them, *Psal.* 106.35,36. *Jehosaphat* his joyning in affinitie with *Ahabs* house occasioned the breaking of his ships, the corrupting of his family, and the destruction of many of his posterity. Thirdly, those that connive, bolster up, plead for such men, it is usuall with God to make them a vexation in the conclusion to those that have upheld and pleaded for them. Fourthly, those that commit power to them by choosing them to be Magistrates and officers of trust; They that put into imployment malignant spirits against the godly, must look to have a temptation and a snare by them.

Thirdly, it should warne us to take heed of unnecessary societie, with unjust and ungodly men: we are commanded *not to be unequally yoaked with unbelevers*, 2 *Corinth.* 6.14. there must bee a separation from them, *vers.* 17. I cannot now examine the severall sorts and cases of separation both civill and ecclesiasticall. This in the generall may be said, he that heeds not to avoyd societie with ungodly men which is not needfull, doth certainly cast himselfe into temptation.

Fourthly, it should warne us how we deale with such kind of men when we are necessitated to have any thing to doe with them. It was the saying of *David* in his *Cygnea cantio*, his last words, 2 *Sam.* 23.6,7. *But the sonnes of Belial shall be all of them as thornes thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands. But the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron, and the staffe of a speare.* He that must have to doe with wicked men had need be fenced with iron. If you aske how? I answer.

1. Be armed as *Lot* was, with the spirit of mourning, ye must mourne for their sinnes as *Lot* did here, 2 *Pet.* 2.8. *That righteous man dwelling among them in hearing and seeing vexed his righteous soule from day to day with their unlawfull deeds.* If yee must be in their company, yet yee must not delight in their company: if yee doe, it is a signe yee are of the same disposition with them. There is sometimes a necessitie of their company by reason of naturall relation, neighbourhood, trading; but there is a greater necessity that we mourne for their swearing, scoffing, lying, prophane speeches which we cannot remedy.

2. Take heed of trusting them or hearkning to them, make them not of thy privie counsell, unlesse thou wouldst be betrayed by them. It is the Prophet *Micah* his use, *Mic.* 7.4,5: *Because the best of them is a Briar, trust not in a friend, put yee not confidence in a guide, keepe the doores of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosome.* And the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Chap. 9.4. *Take yee heed every one of his neighbour, and trust yee not in any Brother;*

for,

*for every Brother will utterly ſupplant, and every neighbour will walke with ſlanders.*

3. Thou muſt be wiſe in ſpeaking to them, *Pſal.* 39. 1. *I will keepe my mouth with a bridle*, ſaith *David*, *while the wicked is before me*, when wee are in the company of evill men we have need looke to the motions of our tongues.

4. Get patience, and meekeneſſe in bearing their injuries and reproaches. In ſuch company thou ſhalt meete with Temptations, and therefore ſhouldſt be fitted to encounter with them.

5. Be wiſe how thou doe reprove them: though reproofe bee a duty, yet it muſt bee well managed; our Saviours direction is, *Matthew* 7. 6. *Give not holy things unto the Dogs, neither caſt pearles before Swine leſt they trample them under their feet, and turne againe and rend you.*

6. Endeavour by all good meanes to convert them. Take heed of complying with them in their wayes, under pretence of turning them. That's the ready way for them to glory and inſult over thee and to harden themſelves. But bee thou as a light ſhining before them to convince them, *Philippians* 2. 15.

7. If wee cannot convert them, yet let us endeavour to reſtraine them by our authority, prayers and power with them.

Fiftly, It ſhould admoniſh us to prepare our ſelves for theſe temptations: while yee live on earth yee ſhall not live in a heaven of Saints, but in a world of ungodly men, and therefore make account of temptations and fit your ſelves for them; yee that be here of this Citie becauſe God hath given you deliverance now, doe not grow ſecure, but thinke ye may have more trialls. Remember the ſpirit of wicked men is reſtleſſe, though they miſſe in one plot they willattempt another; according to the ſpirit by which they are guided, as Satan goes about ſeeking whom hee may devoure, ſo doe wicked men his Agents.

Sixtly and laſtly, Herein is manifeſted the gratious providence of God for the godly, that though they are under Temptations, yet they are delivered from them, though they walke among ſnares, though they are placed as Chriſt ſaith as *ſheepe in the midſt of wolves*, a few weake ſheepe in the middeſt of a great multitude of ravening wolves, yet the Church is preſerved, this is Gods work; ſo it was at this time in this City, a ſmall company of godly perſons preſerved from a great number of malignant ſpirits within and without it: O let us admire the goodneſſe of our God herein. It is the buſineſſe of this day: Doe it fully,

Let your ſpirits be raiſed up in admiration of Gods care and working for his people. Let your hearts and tongues magnifie God, and ſay, Great is the Lord, and great are his workes, and great deliverances giveth he unto his people. Happy O people ſaved by the Lord. Happy are they that be in ſuch a caſe: yea rather happy are they that have the Lord for their God.

2 PET. 2. 9.

*The Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation, and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of judgement to be puniſhed.*

WEE have conſidered in the Morning the eſtate of the Godly in reſpect of unjuſt men among whom they live; they are under Temptation. We are now to conſider their eſtate in reſpect of Gods care and aſpect to them. *The Lord knoweth how to deliver them.* The Truth emergent from hence is this. *Though it be that the godly while they live among unjuſt men be in temptation: yet God knowes how to deliver them.* This is the expreſſe aſſertion of the Text. *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of Temptation.* The phraſe [ *The Lord knoweth* ] imports both care, providence, and vigilancy to deliver, and alſo skill and wiſdome how to contrive it, and conſequently, certainty of deliverance. To like purpoſe are many other places of holy Scripture, *Pſal.* 9. 9. *The Lord alſo will be a refuge for the oppreſſed, a refuge in times of Trouble, Pſal.* 33. 18. *Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that feare him: upon them that hope in his mercy, to deliver their ſoule from death.* To make this Truth a little more explicate, we are to conſider, that this skill, vigilancy and providence of God in delivering the godly out of Temptation,

First, Hath reference to divers ſorts of deliverance. There are divers kinds of deliverance, and divers degrees in thoſe kindes. There is a deliverance of the Soule from the wrath of God. *Jeſus that delivereth from the wrath to come, 1 Theſſ.* 1. 10. A deliverance from the power and guilt of ſinne, from the anguiſh and horrour of conſcience, from deſertion and Apoſtaſy. There are deliverances of the body, of the naturall life, from death, from teares, from ſickneſſe, from wants, from danger. The Lord knowes how to accommodate his deliverance, to give deliverance accor-

according to what kind & degree he thinks meet. Sometimes God delivers from death, *Psa.* 116. 8. *Thou hast delivered my soule from death.* Sometimes by death, *Isa.* 57. 1. *The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart; and mercifull men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evill to come.* See, The Lord knowes sundry wayes of deliverance, not onely by keeping them from the hands of unjust men, but sometimes by letting them fall into their hands.

Secondly, It hath reference to the persons delivered. Sometimes the Lord delivers many, sometimes few, sometimes whole Cities and people, sometimes a small remnant in them, *Rom.* 9. 27. *Isa.* 10. 22. *Though the number of the children of Israel be as the Sand of the Sea, a remnant shall be saved*: though there be great multitudes of men, yet a few shall be delivered.

Thirdly, it hath reference to the meanes of deliverance. Sometimes the Lord delivers by a visible power, sometimes the Lord delivers by an invisible working, sometimes God delivers by putting a meere fancy into the mind of the enemy, somtimes by a reall accident unthought of: 1 *Sam.* 23. 26, 27. *Saul and his men, had encompassed David and his men round about to take him. But there came a Messenger unto Saul, saying, Haste thee and come: for the Philistines have invaded the Land. Wherefore Saul returned from pursuing after David, and went against the Philistines.* Sometimes the Lord delivers by an Angell, sometimes by men. That which the Prophet speaketh, *Isa.* 28. 29. is true of the meanes of deliverance. *This also commeth forth from the Lord of hosts, who is wonderfull in counsell, and excellent in working.* That we least dreame of, is oft times the meanes of deliverance, that which we most hoped in, is oft times most unprofitable to us.

Fourthly, It hath reference to the case of the persons delivered. Sometimes the unjust persons be many, strong, cunning, active, malicious: on the other side, the persons delivered are few, weake, distracted, fearefull, simple, yet notwithstanding the Lord knowes how to deliver them. Even these poore ones are preserved, and those strong, cunning and active men misse of their prey.

Fifthly, It hath reference to the time of delivery. Gods skill, vigilancy, and providence is clearely seene, in the season and opportunity of deliverance, *Isa.* 64. 3. *Thou didst terrible things which we looked not for*: when the case of persons rescued is in appearance hopelesse, yet the Lord knowes how to deliver even then.

Sixthly, It hath reference to the fruits and consequent of the deliverance. There is a deliverance which is but incompleate: persons are

delivered

delivered from one judgement, but reſerved to another. The King of *Sodom* was delivered from the Kings that came againſt him, but reſerved to fire and Brimſtone. Sometimes God gives a compleat deliverance that procures a continued peace. *Jehoſhaphat* was delivered from the invaſion of the *Moabites*, and the fruite of it was, *the Realme was quiet*: for his God gave him reſt round about, 2 *Chron.* 20.30. Sometimes God gives a deliverance which ends in triumph and glory; ſometimes a deliverance which leads to more temptations. God it may be gives a deliverance to ſhew what he would doe if wee would cleave to him: but becauſe of our forgetfulneſſe of God, our not rendring againe according to his mercy, we may be delivered from one conſpiracy ſo as to fall into another, from one evill ſo as to be reſerved to a greater.

The reaſons why God doth thus providently and skilfully deliver the godly out of temptation are;

Firſt, becauſe of his promiſe, God hath ingaged his word for the deliverance of his people, *Pſal.* 50. 15. *I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorifie mee.*

Secondly, becauſe they pray to him: in the ſame place he ſaith, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee.* God will not be wanting to the prayer of the poore deſtitute, he will heare their cry. Though it be that proud Atheiſticall perſons make no reckoning of prayer, as if it could doe any thing for deliverance, yet ſure prayer is a mighty engine with God, it is of ſingular force for deliverance. *The effectuall fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much, Jam.* 5.16.

Thirdly, becauſe of his love, for that makes him imploy his wiſedome and power for the deliverance of the godly, *Deut.* 33. 3. *yea hee loved the people; all his Saints are in thine hand.*

Becauſe they reciprocally love God, and are tempted for his ſake. *For thy ſake we are killed all the day long and counted as ſheepe for the ſlaughter, Pſal.* 44. 22. Therefore he muſt needs favour their cauſe, and be engaged in point of honour to deliver them, *Pſal.* 91. 14. *Becauſe he hath ſet his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him.* A good maſter will not ſuffer his ſervant to miſcarry for his fidelitie in doing his buſineſſe. Surely God that is the beſt maſter, who hath farre more goodneſſe then all the creatures, will not faile to protect and reſcue his ſervants, his children, that are in danger for his ſake. Beſides it concernes God to ſhew himſelfe juſt, in righting the innocent, that he may make good his title, *The God of judgement. The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, Pſal.* 1.6. and therefore is by his righteouſneſſe bound to helpe them.

Fiftly,

Fiftly, the rage of the enemies is a ſufficient reaſon for God to deliver his people, and to imploy his providence and power for their reſcue, *Deut.* 32.27. ſaith God, *I would make the remembrance of them to ceaſe from among men, were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy leſt their adverſaries ſhould behave themſelves ſtrangely.* The Lord intends to uſe wicked men as his rod often times to ſcourge the godly: but he intends they ſhould correct them, not deſtroy them, he would not have them altogether unpuniſhed yet corrected in meaſure: hee would not have them loſt though chaſtiſed. Therefore hee gives deliverance at laſt though the enemy rage much; *The rod of the wicked ſhall not reſt upon the lot of the righteous: leſt the righteous put forth their hand unto iniquity, Pſal.* 125.3. Becauſe he knowes the enemy is implacable, unmercifull, knowes not how to put bounds to his rage, but acts in his fury *ad extremum virium*, to the utmoſt of his power, therefore God ſets bounds to his rage and curbs his fury, *Pſal.* 76. 10. *Surely the wrath of man ſhall praiſe thee: the remainder of wrath ſhalt thou reſtraine.*

Sixtly, the preſumption and boaſting of the enemy is a great motive to God to deliver his people. Thus the Pſalmiſt urgeth God to remember *the reproach of the enemy, the voyce of the enemy, Pſal.* 74. 18. 23. Becauſe they conſpire together, they ſay, *Come let us deſtroy them all together, let us cut them off from being a nation, that the name of Iſrael may be no more in Remembrance, Pſal.* 83.4. *they ſay let us perſecute and take him, there is none to deliver him*, they magnifie their owne power, they deride the poore godly man, as if there were no helpe for him in God, they promiſe to themſelves ſatisfaction of their rage, malice, covetouſneſſe, therefore God will diſappoint them. Becauſe of *Senacheribs* blaſphemy and reproach God delivered *Hezekiah* and *Hieruſalem.* Becauſe thy rage againſt me, and thy tumult is come up into mine eares: *therefore will I put my hooke into thy noſe, and my bridle in thy lips, & I will turne thee backe by the way by which thou cameſt*, ſaith God, *Iſa.* 37. 29. not onely by reaſon of the cries of the oppreſſed, but alſo by reaſon of the bragges of proud tongues that have ſaid, *We will prevaile, who is Lord over us?* therefore ſaith God, *I will ariſe, and ſet him in ſafety from him that puffeth at him, Pſal.* 12. *v.* 5.

*Applic.* For Application. Firſt, this may ſerve to abate the preſumption and boaſting of unrighteous men in their practiſes againſt the godly. It is uſuall with ungodly perſons when they have hatched a plot, when they have gathered a power, to inſnare and cruſh the godly to promiſe themſelves certainty of prevayling becauſe of their cunning, confederacy, ſecrecy: becauſe they conceive the godly have no power,

or no wit to withſtand them. And therefore in the laying of all their plots, in the purſuing of all their deſignes they make God as a cipher, and vilifie godly perſons, as if they were a contemptible poore nothing. And all is becauſe they have no acquaintance with this truth *that God knowes how to deliver the godly out of temptation.* Wherefore they vaunt and boaſt themſelves: all their ſpeech is of their great multitude, great partie, ſtrong power, good Commanders, wealthy men, cunning plotters, firme union, theſe and ſuch like things they glory in. *Senacherib* makes no other account but to take *Jeruſalem* by reaſon of his multitude of Chariots and horſemen, ſends word to *Hezekiah* by *Rabſhakeh* to this purpoſe. *Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be delivered out of my hands? I will give thee two thouſand horſes if thou be able on thy part to ſet riders upon them.* As if he had ſaid, thou haſt ſo few men as not to bee able to furniſh two thouſand horſes with able riders, and how then canſt thou ſtand againſt me who bring into the field hundreds of thouſands? The ſame thought is in other ungodly perſons, they make no account but to prevaile and carry the day becauſe of their multitude and confederacie. God is ſecluded from their thoughts, as if he were but a looker on that did nothing. But as we uſe to ſay, they that reckon without their hoſt muſt reckon againe: they that reckon without God make up an eaſie reckoning, but a fooliſh one: they pleaſe themſelves in a vaine preſumption which cannot hold. Experience might enforme them, that when men preſume moſt, they faile moſt, and that Gods people are then neareſt to deliverance when they are in appearence in the moſt hopeleſſe condition; The reaſons hereof are evident. God knowes how to deliver when man doth not, and when men ſay there is no helpe for him in his God, then it is that God doth moſt certainly appeare with deliverance. Out then with all theſe Atheiſticall thoughts, as if the godly and their cauſe were loſt, when forces faile, enemies grow potent, and are many in number. Let this one experiment of this Cities deliverance teach you to ſee the preſumption of men to bee a vaine thing. When almoſt was there a time wherein a City was nearer ſpoyling and deſtruction, and yet preſerved? The narration read to you may eaſily give you to conceive how neere it was to be taken, how great the preſumption of the plotters was of the ſucceſſe. Yet loe in this one inſtance this truth verified, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of Temptation*: by his skill, and vigilancy we have had deliverance. Let not then proud ſpirits vaunt of their plot and power, but remember what *Jethro* ſaid concerning the deliverance at the red Sea, *Exod.* 18. 11. *Now I know that the Lord is greater then all Gods: for*

*in*

*in the thing wherein they dealt proudly hee was above them.*

Secondly, This ſhould ſtrengthen our faith, and encourage us to ſeeke unto God and rely upon him, even then when in our owne apprehenſion we be at the weakeſt, and the enemy moſt potent. So did *Jehoſaphat*, 2 *Chron.* 20. 12. *O our God wilt thou not judge them? For wee have no might againſt this great company that commeth againſt us: neither know wee what to doe: but our eyes are upon thee.* And a little after, *verſ.* 15. *Bee not afraid nor diſmayed by reaſon of this great multitude: for the battell is not yours but Gods.* Be it that wee be brought to great ſtraights, ſo that we ſee no way of eſcape, no meanes of helpe, yet let our eyes be fixed on the power that is above, ſtill keepe up your heart with prayer in dependance upon God. And let me tell you, that faith is as good as a whole Army, yea it is more then great forces, By it the Saints have obtained victories, eſcaped the edge of the Sword, *Heb.* 11. 34. Marke what *Hanani* the Seer told *Aſa*, 2 *Chron.* 16. 7, 8, 9. *Becauſe thou haſt relied on the King of Syria, and not relied on the Lord thy God, therefore is the hoaſt of the King of Syria eſcaped out of thine hand. Were not the Ethiopians and Lubins a huge hoaſt with very many Chariots and horſemen? yet becauſe thou didſt relie on the Lord he delivered them into thine hand? For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro throrow out the whole earth to ſhew himſelfe ſtrong in the behalfe of them whoſe heart is perfect toward him.* The truth is: Faith is our greateſt ſtrength; Armies be of no power without God, and when God makes an Army to be a ſcourge to a people, it is likely becauſe they want faith in God for deliverance. Oh that then our hearts might be eſtabliſhed upon God, whatever ſtraights wee are brought to, that wee could learne to cling, and reſt, and hang upon him by faith, though outward helpe faile. He is the Lord of hoſts, the God of all power and wiſedome: Let our faith in God be ſtrong, though the arme of fleſh wee uſe bee weake.

Thirdly, if God be ſo expert in deliverance, we ſhould learne to waite upon God, and to ſtay his time for deliverance. God doth not deliver according to thy will, but according to his owne purpoſe, and therefore we ſhould quiet our ſelves in his wiſedome and care, patiently ſtaying till he be pleaſed to ſend deliverance. We are ready to anticipate Gods worke, to preſcribe the way and time of deliverance, and if they faile to begin to grow weary with waiting, yea to draw deſperate concluſions therefrom, and all is becauſe wee have not learned this leſſon, that the Lord knoweth how to deliver when man doth not; that his wayes are unſearchable and paſt finding out by us, that he reſerveth the ordering of meanes, the time when, and the extent of

deliverance how farre it ſhall reach. Learne then to bee contented though hee diſappoint thee in the way of deliverance thou fixeſt thy thoughts and hopes on, and keepe up thy confidence in God his faithfulneſſe and power. Remember that of the Prophet, *Iſa.*28.16. *He that beleeveth ſhall not make haſte.*

Fourthly, if it be the Lord that knowes how to deliver, then when we have deliverance, we muſt remember to magnifie his wiſedom, goodneſſe, care, vigilancy and providence. And this is the proper buſineſſe of this day. God hath given a great deliverance to this Citie. And I beſeech you to conſider to whom it can bee aſcribed but to him. It were extreame ſottiſhneſſe for any man to imagine that ſuch a deliverance came by chance, that it was hap-hazzard, uncertaine blinde Fortune that did ſo diſcover and prevent a plot ſo long before contrived, and ſo neere the accompliſhment, nor can it be conceived to haye been by the foreſight of men. The truth is, all ſorts of perſons were in a dubious and trembling condition. A plot was feared, but what it might be, or what way to diſcover it, I ſuppoſe the Agents in the diſcovery knew not till God directed ſome unexpectedly to give intelligence. Thoſe that ſate at the ſterne here will acknowledge they were at a ſtand, and knew not what to doe: thoſe that ſeemed beſt to underſtand the ſtate of things, here conceived them in a hopeleſſe condition. If then it cannot be aſcribed to fortune, or to men, to whom ſhall wee aſcribe the delivery but to God? Doubtleſſe they ſhew themſelves arrant fooles, groſſe doaters, ſottiſh perſons, ſtupid wretches, that will not ſay, *Digitus Dei eſt hic*, herein is the finger of God. That a plot contrived with ſo much cunning, brought on ſo neere to an iſſue, ſhould even then bee diſcovered, even then be prevented when it was to be acted, with ſuch a mercifull preſervation of thoſe againſt whom it was intended, bindes us to give great praiſe unto God. Let us then with our whole heart acknowledge, that great hath the wiſedome, providence and vigilancy of God beene over this place in diſcovering and preventing this plot.

To make us more ſenſible hereof, let us conſider the greatneſſe of the delivery by the number of perſons delivered, even many thouſands of lives in all likelihood, a whole City, and a great City preſerved. Yea doubtleſſe thoſe that conceived themſelves ſafe enough have cauſe to acknowledge their deliverance. Let men dreame of a word or a ſigne as a ſecuritie for them; alas! in a furious concourſe, while men are in heate of blood, doe yee thinke they can attend to obſerve and marke a word, a little white Tape in the boſome or in the hat? Alas! who may not eaſily conceive that in ſuch a confuſion as muſt needs have been

at

at the riſing up and entring of ſo great forces into a City, in ſuch hurly burly, in ſuch fighting there would have beene little diſtinction made of inhabitants, yea poſſibly (as is uſuall in ſuch fights) their owne Forces ſome of them might have ſuffered as enemies. It is eaſie to conceive that not onely goods, but alſo perſons would have periſhed together. And therefore they that imagined themſelves ſafe enough by reaſon of the good will they thought the parties plotting and invading did beare to them, yet have reaſon to acknowledge a great deliverance of them in the diſappointing of this Plot, not onely the perſons particularly deſigned to deſtruction, but alſo many hundreds of thoſe who thought themſelves ſafe enough, would have beene involved in the common ſlaughter.

Secondly, let us conſider the greatneſſe of the deliverance in the fulneſſe of it. Though many thouſands were deſtinate to deſtruction, yet not the haire of one mans head loſt, not one drop of blood ſhed, not one perſon that we know of loſt, no not ſo much as one Peny: this was a great deliverance.

Thirdly, let us conſider the greatneſſe of the deliverance by the ſmalneſſe of the meanes. A deliverance in a manner without any helpe againſt a great Power: without any foreſight againſt a vigilant enemy: that God might have all the glory, and man onely the knowledge of his owne weakeneſſe.

Fourthly, a deliverance in a deſperate caſe, when the enemy was confident, when the preſerved were fearefull.

Fiftly, a deliverance in the very nicke of time, immediately before the plot ſhould have beene acted.

Sixtly, a deliverance that hath vouchſafed to make for the preſent, the place ſafe, the inhabitants in a better poſture for the future, which may in probability tend to the peace of the whole kingdome. However it bee that things ſucceed, yet ſurely there could not bee a way in likelihood that might have tended to the ſhortning of this warre, and ſo conſequently to the peace and quietneſſe of this kingdome more effectuall then this, that God was pleaſed to deliver this City: And which is of all the moſt bleſſed effect, it hath redounded to Gods glory by many thankſgivings to him, which we this day with the acclamations of our ſoules give unto him: and I doubt not but that it will tend much to the undeceiving of the people from thoſe hard thoughts they have had of the godly as turbulent, and diſcover the deepe wickednes that is in the hearts of malignant ſpirits, notwithſtanding all their pretences, ſo that I hope in time it ſhall be that as in the dayes of *Joſhua*

ſhua, ſo God will bring it to paſſe that no dog ſhall move his tongue againſt his people, and all will ſee a neceſſity of reformation in the diſcipline of the Church, which is the great deſire of all the godly in the Land. I will expreſſe my conceits unto you. I have conceived this plot in the intention of it, and many circumſtances in it very like that ever to be abhorred Maſſacre at *Paris* in *France* under *Charles* the ninth of *France*, and the diſcovery and diſappointment like unto that of the Caſtle and Citie of *Dublin* in *Ireland* ſomewhat more then a yeare ſince, by which although the warre and miſery of that kingdome hath not beene altogether prevented, yet hath beene through the Almighties ſole power in a great meaſure leſſened. Doubtleſſe the ſame ſpirit of Antichriſt hath moved in all theſe plots, and this preſent warre is ſet on foot by the ſame *Jeſuiticall Achitophels*, by the ſame *Catholique league*. It is the ſame plot that began in *Scotland*, but lighted on *Ireland*, and now in a heavy manner on *England*. It is plaine enough to every one that will conſider the agents, the circumſtances of it that it is the plot of Papiſts, and Jeſuited ſpirits to root out the Proteſtant Religion under other pretences. And God doth begin now to diſcover it, and I doubt not but will more diſcover it, and cleare the innocency of his people, and adde deliverances to them, but ruine and downefall to that Antichriſtian ſtate. What are wee to doe this day but to acknowledge the greatneſſe of this deliverance, to magnifie God our deliverer, and cauſe the voyce of his praiſe to bee heard; to rejoyce in Gods worke which he hath done? Though we may not rejoyce in the miſery of any man as delighting in it, though we are not to inſult over them, but to pity them, who did not pity us, though we are not to reproach them, but to pray for them, that God would ſoften their hearts and open their eyes, that they may ſee againſt whom they ſtrive; yet for as much as the Scripture ſaith, *The righteous ſhall rejoyce when he ſeeth the vengeance, he ſhall waſh his feet in the blood of the wicked*, *Pſal.* 58. 10. that God may bee magnified wee are to rejoyce that they are caſt downe, and that God hath vouchſafed unto his people a day of deliverance, and (bleſſed be his name) a day of thankſgiving without any interruption. I beſeech you let not this mercy be loſt, keepe a yearely memoriall of it, let not this day be loſt, ſpend it not onely in eaſe from labour and carnall mirth, but remember that *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*, God hath done this great thing for us, and let our rejoycing be in God, our prayſes of him, *Oh prayſe our God all yee people, and let the voyce of his praiſe be heard, which endues our ſoule with life, and ſuffereth not our feet to ſlip.* And in your praiſes obſerve theſe directions.

Firſt,

First, remember the great deliverance of all deliverances, even the deliverance which the Lord Jesus the great Captaine of our Salvation hath gotten for us by his death over Hell and Death. Every deliverance we have from the inferiour instruments of Satan the great adversary should lead to the remembrance of the grand deliverance from Hell eternally to be remembred.

Secondly, let this deliverance confirme your faith, & erect your hope in expectation of those great diliverances which all Gods people long for, even the great deliverance from Antichrist when God will judge the whore, and avenge the sea of blood that hath beene drunke these many hundreds of yeares by that cruell dominion of the Papacy, which all that love Jesus Christ doe earnestly pray for and endeavour: the deliverance from *Gog* and *Magog* when their great multitudes shall bee overthrowne: the deliverance from the grave, when the Earth and the Sea shall give up their dead. Learne we to argue as the Apostle doth, 2 *Cor.* 1.10. *who delivered us from so great a death*, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us. God hath delivered this Citie and therefore will deliver his Church which is his owne City. It is the argumentation of the Apostle here. God delivered *Noah* from the old world at the deluge, he delivered *Lot* out of *Sodom*, and therefore, *God knoweth how to deliver the godly out of Temptation.* One deliverance is enough to conclude a succession of deliverances. All Gods deliverances are grounded upon the same reason, and therefore the assurance of one is a confirmation of our faith concerning all.

Thirdly, learne to delight thy selfe in God, learne to glory and make thy boast in him. Say as *Nebuchadnezzar* himselfe acknowledged, *Dan.* 3.29. *There is no other God that can deliver after this sort.* We that hope in the living God, that trust in Christ Jesus should raise our spirits to an high and holy magnanimity and courage in our God, despise the Idols that superstitious persons magnify. Hath God delivered us? Hath the Sonne of God saved us? away then with Crosses, Crucifixes, dead Saints, Images, Reliques, breaden Gods; they are but dead things, they cannot deliver, they are but vanitie and lies, there is no breath, there is no trust in them. Let us exalt our God and say, Our God is the living God & an everlasting King, the portion of *Jacob* is not like them, *Israel* is the rod of his inheritance, *Jerem.* 10. Our God is a God that can deliver, and doth deliver, and will deliver. Let the experiment of Gods deliverance raise our hearts to an high apprehension of the power, and excellency and worthinesse of our God.

Lastly, let us cleave stedfastly to our God. Hath God stood to us? let

let us ſtand faſt to him: ſtand to his truth by profeſſing, to his commands by obeying them, ſtand unto his people by appearing for them, ſtand to his cauſe by engaging our ſelves in it, ſtand to Gods Name by truſting on it. Doth God deliver the Godly? Oh prize godlineſſe then as great gaine, as profitable for all things. Doth God heare prayers? Oh then let us uſe prayers to God. Let us contradict ſinners, and ſay, It is not in vaine to ſerve God, that there is profit in keeping his ordinances, and that we walke mournfully before the Lord of hoaſts, *Mal.* 3.14. Let us returne and diſcerne between the righteous and the wicked, betweene him that ſerveth God and him that ſerveth him not, *v.*18. To manifeſt which I ſhould proceed to handle the other Concluſion in the Text, *The Lord knoweth how to reſerve the unjuſt to the day of judgement to be puniſhed*; but time will not permit.

FINIS.





A True

# RELATION

Of a great and wonderfull

# VICTORY

OBTAINED

By Captain *ASHTON*
and the Parliaments Forces,

Againſt the Earl of *DERBY* at *Whalley* in *Lancaſhire*.

As it was certified in a Letter from a Gentleman there, to a Member of the Houſe of COMMONS.

*For which great mercie they have appointed a day of Thankſgiving.*

---

*London*, Printed for *Edw. Husbands*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in the middle Temple. May 8. 1643.

A True

# RELATION

Of a great and wonderfull

# VICTORY

OBTAINED

By Captain [illegible]STON

and the Parliament Forces,

Against the Earl of [illegible]ER Near [illegible]by in Dorsetshire.

As it was certified in a Letter from a Gentleman there, to a Member of the House of COMMONS.

For which great mercie they have appointed a day of Thanksgiving.

---

London, Printed for Edw. Husband, and are to be sold at his Shop [illegible] in the middle Temple. May 8. 1644.

A TRUE

# RELATION

Of a great and wonderful

# VICTORY, &c.

SIR,

THough I be from Manchester, yet having this convenient Bearer thither, I thought good to give you a Relation (in which I desire not to exceed) of God's great preservation of us, which was greater than I perceived in my

A True

# RELATION

Of a great and wonderfull

# VICTORY

OBTAINED

By Captain [illegible]STON,

and the Parliament's Forces,

Against the Earl of [illegible]ER & Yat Wal-

[illegible]y in Lancashire.

As it was certified in a Letter from a Gentleman there, to a Member of the House of COMMONS.

For which great mercie they have appointed a day of Thanksgiving.

---

London, Printed for Rich. Harband, and are to be sold at his Shop [illegible] in the middle Temple. May 8. 1643.

A TRUE

# RELATION

Of a great and wonderful

# VICTORY, &c.

SIR,

THough I be from Manchester, yet having this convenient Bearer thither, I thought good to give you a Relation (in which I desire not to exceed) of God's great preservation of us, which was greater than I mentioned in my

That the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Mollineux*, Sir *Gilbert Hoghton*, Colonell *Tildesley*, with all the other great Papists in this County, issued out of Preston, and on Wednesday noon came to Ribchester with eleven Troops of horse, 700 foot, and infinite of club-men, in all conceived to be 5000. We lying at Dunkenhalgh-hall with our two Troops hearing of his great force retreated to Padiham, having before sent to Colonell *Shuttleworth*, to raise the country which he did, all the firemen came in the next morning (though they have had no pay this 5 weeks) and some few club-men: I did compute us to be 60 horse, and some 400 foot, not above five hundred

dred

dred I am ſure at the firſt: we marched with our horſe towards Whalley, where we tooke a man and 2. geldings of Mr. *Lathams* the great Papiſt, and retreated to Read-bank, here we diſcovered above 150 horſe to follow us, and when our foot was come thither to us, our horſe retreated more, our foot advanced cloſe under a wall, only my ſelf ſtood and faced the enemy: I made as though I fled, they purſued me, when I knew they were in the command of our men, I advanced again and ſhot off my piſtoll (being the ſigne for our foot) whereupon our men diſcharged with a great ſhowt, the enemies horſe fled in great diſorder, we wounded many, took forty priſo-

 ners,

ners, some horse and 60 Muskets, our fire men pursued them to Whalley, where the Earl of *Derby* and the rest were in the Abbey, much a do we had to keep our Souldiers back, the enemy (who were ten for one to us) discharged his Cannon 5. times, but hurt not a man of us, (blessed be our good God) he drew into a body, we being out of order ran under hedges, played upon them with our Muskets, and routed their foot, which fled over the Weare, their horse still facing us, our men still pursued them to Ladge-green, where Captain *Ashton* and my self with much a doe caused our first men to stay till more came up, then our men shot, their horse fled, when

all

all our horse came up and pursued them through Salisbury Park, and to Ribchester, & most of their great ones had some touch, or some narrow escape, as themselves report. And having thus driven them out of the Hundred, we retreated to Padiham, where having a good Minister, some hours were spent in thanksgiving for this great deliverance, and be assured it is to be taken (next the first great bout at Manchester) the greatest deliverance we have had. We had one day last week, and on Friday next we are to observe a Thanksgiving both in Salford Hundred & this, with praises to our God. The intent of the enemy was to overrun this Hundred,

and

and so to Bolton and Manchester, (as upon examination appears by the prisoners) and be assured if the Lord had sufferd this part to fail, we had in al probability bin utterly undone. The enemy stole all horses & beasts as far as they went; I hope our Gentlemen in this county vvill consider to joyn and clear the county; This part vvhich before vvas dejected, is novv through Gods mercy united and raised, and the common people never more forvvard, and the souldiers more courragious, but the Lord is our preserver; So desiring still to hear from you, I rest

*Your lovving Friend*, E. F.

Padiham, 24. April, 1643.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM